VOL. V.
WASHINGTON, D. C.,
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P. H. WATSON.
E. S. RENWICK.
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JAMIN F. BUCKNER.
TY ABROAD.
AMERICA.
NEZUELA, April 12, 1849.
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J. M. JESURUN.
YORK, January 8, 1850.
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THE NATIONAL ERA.

G. BAILEY, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR; JOHN G. WHITTIER, CORRESPONDING EDITOR.

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THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, FEBRUARY 3, 1851.

For the National Era.

LIFE ON PRAIRIE DE LA FLEUR.—No. 4.

BY MARY IRVING.

A LEAF FROM THE ROMANCE OF IMMIGRATION.

"Art thou so near unto me, and yet I cannot behold thee? Art thou so near unto me, and yet thy voice does not reach me?" — *Evangeline.*

Among the islands in the British Channel, off the coast of "vine-clad France," there is one which has made large contributions to our prairie. It is a bright emerald on the bosom of the blue ocean, kept always freshly green by the sunshine and the spray. It is the hive of a swarming, but by no means starving population. Its stray children cherish it in their memories as the home of all things beautiful—"the home of their childhood." "Over the ocean wave" they look longingly back to it, and kindle into a glow of patriotism that could hardly wax warmer, were the favorite isle limited by the boundaries of the Chinese Empire, instead of by a few narrow miles.

The inhabitants are generally descendants of the French, whose language they speak, with some peculiarities of dialect, and in form and feature they resemble their continental neighbors much more than the subjects of Victoria, whose sway they proudly own.

In a greenly-shaded street of this village-like isle, retired from the bustle of business, yet giving a glimpse of the sea, stood a vine-hung cottage, the home of Christine S. Christine was a short, sun-browned, but rosy-cheeked girl of seventeen, with eyes as bright and black as "sharded beetles," and a luxuriance of glossy brown hair, offsetting a face as merry and good-humored as you might find among a thousand. It was no great wonder that Christine should "fall in love," though her parents frowned upon it; and no wonder that the sailor youth, who on dusky Sunday evenings walked home along the turf path by her side, should have fancied that even a portionless girl, such as her, was an inestimable portion.

Christine was no heroine of romance; she was a simple farmer's daughter, who "tethered" her own cow in the yard in summer time; made the family butter and cheese from her own hands' milking; and acted in all respects the part of a good little household fairy, in the kitchen as well as in the "best room."

But the father and mother of Christine had little will to give her away to a "lad" as poor as herself—a son of the ocean, too, whose amiable, honest face was his only passport to their favor. So thorns sprung up thick and high in the path of the young couple's "true love."

More than once did Jacques steal an hour to say good-bye to Christine, unknown to her father, though almost under the vine-dropping eaves; and many a time did the poor girl's tears fall fast and warm on his shoulder, as she thought of the winds and waves that would toss him, while she was shuddering at their threatening far away in her lonely chamber.

"It will not be for always, Christine!" the hopeful Jacques would say, consolingly. "We shall earn happiness and a little home for ourselves, by-and-by!" And patiently was every hard-earned penny of the industrious seaman put into this fund for the future. His comrades, in true sailor fashion, laughed and jeered at his suddenly-closed purse; but no matter; he bore all unchafed, and toiled on through sunshine and through storm, that he might reach the humble goal of his most aspiring wishes. Once, at parting, he drew a plain gold ring upon Christine's third finger. It was the seal of betrothal, which the customs of the island had, from time immemorial, enjoined and held sacred. Christine hid it away in the most secure corner of her most secret drawer, well knowing that its simple gleam would be the electric flash to awaken the tempest of her father's wrath. Every night she peeped at it; and every night it seemed to reproach her with faithlessness to its giver, in disowning to the world his place in her heart.

One morning early, Christine came down to her duties with a beating heart, and a ring on her chubby right hand. Furtively glancing from under her dark eyelashes, and blushing with the very effort to look unconcerned, she seated herself at the breakfast table, to encounter her father's terror-boding eye, which soon fastened its gaze upon her unfortunate finger.

"Where did you get that ring, girl?" he exclaimed abruptly, thumping down his half-drained coffee-cup upon the bare oaken table.

"It was given me," timidly but decisively replied Christine.

"Given you!" he repeated, a flush purpling his forehead. "Dare you wear Jacques Leroy's ring before my eyes, to pretend yourself his? Off with it, I say! I'll never own you, the betrothed of that beggar."

"But I will be, and I shall keep the ring!" resolutely exclaimed the little damsel, with heaving chest and curling lip. "I love Jacques, and he loves me; and we shall be married, some day, if God wills! I shall be nobody's wife but his, and I shall wear this ring, to let everybody know it, too!"

Gleams flashed from her sparkling black eyes, that might have warned her father of the wisdom of reserving his remonstrance for another time and place. But the overcharged cloud of wrath waits not usually the fitting hour to burst. "Thunder and lightning, whirlwind and storm," raged around her head for a few moments, shaking, but to more firmly root the resolution of her heart; and then she took refuge in an escape to her chamber.

To use her own expressive language, she "cried all day long, and all night too!" Jacques was far away upon the sea; and had he been nearer, her pride of independence would have hindered her from turning to him for help. That pride did not think itself too much humbled, in going to fill, under the roof of another, the station she had filled at home from her childhood. Her parents and friends curled their lips at her plan of "going out to service," as we term it; and ridiculed and scolded her by turns, both in vain.

She left the humble roof she was born under, not without a severe struggle and many scalding tears, to take a few steps in the world alone Now the tide of her life began to flow more calmly. A pleasant home and kind patrons she found, who would not throw a feather in the way of her cherished hopes and purposes. More as a daughter than as a servant, she moved about her tasks, singing gaily, now over her newly-scrubbed kitchen floor, now over her wheel, in the sunshine of summer, where it fell through the western casement.

Jacques came home at last, to claim his island bride. But so clingingly did she plead with him to forsake "a life on the ocean wave," and so brightly did fancy paint for him a fireside shared with her, that he resolved to change his calling, and try what a sailor's stout arm could win on *terra firma.* But not there; every inch of island soil was too precious for his slender wallet to lean towards.

"I must take one more voyage, Christine," said he, after some consultation with neighbors and friends, "to the Lakes of America; and if I like the country, our home shall be there. But I must marry you now, my Christine. I cannot leave you so uncared for; and then I will come back for you!"

Christine had few objections to make, her employers had none; and as for her parents, their indignation had quite calmed into composure, and even into complacency, since her resolute determination in favor of the young seaman. They even went so far as to bestow upon his uprightness and energy a little of the admiration due it.

Christine stood up at the side of Jacques in their parish church, on a calm Sabbath evening, and another ring, besides the ring of betrothal, was put upon her finger. It was a thick, heavy, orange-hued circlet, such as our great-grandmothers show us; none of the pale, delicate, lemon-tinged, diamond-eyed jewels of modern make, but a substantial golden hoop, stout enough to keep company with the hand of its mistress, through all sorts of work and weather; for there is a sort of superstitious regard attached to the wedding-ring among the peasantry of Europe. I have known a sensible young Frenchwoman thrown into a fever of foreboding at losing this ring, sure that the tie of her life and love was to be broken by the loss of its seal. And when, after the lapse of three years or more, it was found imbedded in the bank of the spring where she had dropped it, her gratitude and joy swelled almost to intoxication.

Jacques Leroy left his Christine in the same humble vocation where he had wedded her, and set sail for the New World. I do not know that any wild emotions of rapture swelled his breast, when he first caught sight of the continent, to look on which Columbus risked his life, and won an immortality of fame. I strongly suspect that honest Jacques' eye was more intent upon the shoals and eddies of the harbor than upon the blue mountains and green swells that bound it. Yet I know the image of Christine rose there in his heart, to throw the reflection of beauty and love over its rudest associations.

Jacques went his cheerful way to the wilds of the West, via river, canal, and lake. The tide of circumstances and of immigration (at that date) bore him into the mining region of Illinois. Here his ready will and strong right arm found patronage and payment immediately.

Ere five months had passed, one of the few short letters that spoke from his heart to his far-away bride, (for ocean postage was a heavy burden to a poor emigrant's purse, then; would that it were less now!) told her briefly of his success, and of his intention of fixing his residence at that spot. Yet his engagements would not permit him to leave, for a time. "If you can make up your mind to come on without me," it added, "we could meet much sooner. You had better come with ———, and ———," naming some neighbors who were about to leave the green isle for the same region. "But wait till you hear from me again."

Christine's pulse bounded with impatience and delight, when she had spelled out this dear little missive. To meet her Jacques again—to find the neat little home she had so often dreamed of, in that green wide world, of whose beauty and plenteousness the emigrants' home letters were always telling—this was a lot worth crossing the ocean to gain.

Unluckily, as it proved, the families with whom her voyage had been purposed put off their plans of sailing to another season. Christine had just written to this effect, and asked further advice about the matter, when she heard of the sudden determination of some other friends to sail; and she took a rash resolution.

"I will surprise him!" she thought, gleefully. "I could not wish better protectors than these; and he will be so astonished, so delighted to see me!"

The good ship was winged by favoring gales over the restless Atlantic. Christine, buoyant-hearted girl that she was, could have kissed for very joy the first sandy soil of America that her foot pressed. In her fond delusion as to the magnitude of our United States, she felt that her end was really gained—that she was already in the neighborhood of the husband who had preceded her. Her isle-contracted eyes had to look upon the journey of many a day, before they could realize that the New World was so tiresomely large.

Up the magnificent diorama of the Hudson the party slowly moved, in tow of a strong river steamer. Christine's girlish curiosity was animated and delighted; and her lively French ejaculations were a fund of amusement to her fellow-emigrants from other climes than her own. At Albany she floated into the great artificial vein of New York—the Erie canal—at that day the thoroughfare of rich and poor to the West.

The terrors of a voyage on the "raging canal" must, of course, be few; but Christine was startled from her shelf, the first night, by a rumbling that she could by no means understand, while the water without was dashing with a formidable sound.

"*Qu'est ce que c'est?*" she called, from her curtained corner. But as she could comprehend little of the answers which various English and Irish tongues sent her, and her French fellow-voyagers were sound asleep, she wrapped herself in a warm shawl, and made her way to the cabin door, just as the narrow coffin-shaped boat was floating even with the upper sluice of the lock.

"Oh!" she breathed, in a tone of relieved satisfaction, as she looked on the smoothly-rippling water around; and glancing back to the level from which they had ascended, recalled the explanation that had been given her; "*Je l'entends!*" and she groped along back to her nook, to dream of home past and home future.

Slowly as the canal boat crept along, Christine's patience did not outstrip it—for she amused herself, in sunshiny hours, by long walks on the level tow-path, far in advance of the snail-paced bark, gathering strange berries and flowers, and framing all sorts of wondering dreams about her home in the wilderness—what flowers would bloom around it, and what comforts would blossom within it. Then in the stinted cabin she would sit with her knitting or her needle, chatting when she could, and making the most of her active eyes where her ears could give her no information—for she understood and spoke few phrases of Anglo-Saxon.

At Buffalo, the party took ship again for a three weeks' trip up the Lakes; few steamboats then ascended above "the Flats," and the Michigan railroad was not. At Chicago, they chartered an emigrants' wagon, with all appurtenances, even to the water-pail swinging like a pendulum from the hindmost axle, and went on their way, rejoicing that it was now so short. Christine's heart took a happier thrill each night of that journey, in the joyful consciousness that it brought her nearer the haven of her happiness. When the low roofs and smoke-haloed chimneys of the village of L—— first loomed up to view from a distant bluff on which the wagon halted, she was no longer the first to ejaculate; her heart was too full for speech, and her eyes were full of tears.

Oh! what is so cruel as disappointment! It is the canker that riots on the fairest flowers—the mildew that fastens on the happiest heart! And so it fell upon Christine's, when, on springing from her rude carriage to the door of a former countryman, she found not the face she had expected first to welcome her.

"Where is my ———," she commenced; but her lips were too little accustomed to the word "husband," to speak it without a blush, and she repeated, "Where is Jacques Leroy?"

"Why?" [I give their conversation in English] exclaimed her old acquaintances, starting up in surprised recognition. "Christine S——, Christine Leroy! what chance brought *you* here? Ah! how unfortunate!"

"What is it? what is it?" demanded Christine, glancing in trembling dismay from one to another; for she saw that each hesitated, and a dreadful foreboding flashed over her.

"Tell me if Jacques is—if he is *dead!*" and she grasped the arm of her host, almost fiercely.

"Oh, no, never! certainly not!" burst from the circle at one breath. "But he is not here. He went away two months ago!"

Christine turned dizzy, and sunk back upon a settee. "Foolish girl that I am!" she ejaculated, "he has gone over the ocean to fetch me!"

"No, not so bad as that—oh, I hope not!" replied her hostess, hastily. "He did not intend to sail for several weeks yet. Why, he wrote to you to wait for him, and told you all about it!"

"I never got the letter!" sobbed Christine, now quite overcome by the sudden reaction of hope's excitement.

"Take heart, dear child!" urged her friends, soothingly. "He's easily to be brought; only a hundred miles away!"

"I'll go to him!" exclaimed she, starting up impulsively.

"No! oh no, stay here until we send for him; that is best!"

"I'll trust to nobody else! I will go to him, and that to-morrow!" she persisted.

The morrow saw Christine, snugly packed in the travelling wagon of a stranger emigrant family, set out on her long and tedious journey. Well for her hope and patience that she saw not then how long that journey must be. She passed over virgin prairies, and through almost trackless woods, with a sort of dreamy admiration, always wishing the end were come. It was no easy matter to light upon her husband's second home; the limits of the settlement named were large; and when, after some search, they found the place of his brief abiding, the bird had flown.

Now she was among strangers indeed; strangers who spoke not her tongue—who read not her heart. A less resolute spirit would have sunk down in despair, at least for a time. But Christine only baptized a new resolution in a few more womanly tears.

"He must have gone to Chicago, to sail for Europe," she reasoned. "I will track him there."

Well it was for her that her small earnings had been wisely hoarded for years, and no bridal tinselry had drained the little fund that now sustained her efforts. At Chicago she found him—*not*; but hearing that he had "gone north," she left her name and tale of distress behind her, and embarked for another port.

"Do you know anything of Jacques Leroy? He is a Frenchman, of de Isle ———. He is mine husband, and him I cannot find!"

Such were the questions the lips of poor Christine became weary of asking, day after day, and week after week, as from place to place she pursued on the wings of hope, the fleeting shadow of her best beloved.

The captains and sailors of all the coast learned her name and story; and kind words many a time fell on her ear, in tones which she could understand better than the sentences they veiled. One star soon dawned upon her discouragement, though it led her into a still more intricate labyrinth She found that her husband had been made aware of her arrival and her anxiety, and was seeking her with the same eagerness of pursuit. Certainly wisdom would have told her to cease her journeyings then, and wait for him to follow her track, and find her. But her impatience was too eager for these counsels of prudence.

It was laughable in the memory, but serious in the reality—that chase and counter-chase, up and down, back and forth, among the seaports and principal towns, over prairies and into nooks and corners, which followed. Poor Christine's heart grew fainter every day. She could scarcely lift her eyes, for shame, when she encountered again strangers whom she had met so often in her search, although she knew that in such rencontres lay almost her only hope of final success. "I tink," she long afterwards told me, "dey will believe I have not any husband!"

But Christine was not doomed to the ordeal of poor Evangeline—the fire of perpetual disappointment, that purges the dross from the martyr-heart on earth, and transfigures a mortal to an angel this side the vale of Death; that lot was spared her.

One day, she heard that Jacques had been passing two days in the town of R——, in the house of a friend who knew all the troublous story of both, and had often given her sympathy and shelter in her wanderings. With the buoyancy of assured certainty—for she was very near the spot—she made her way swiftly thither, and almost flew into the presence of her friend.

"Oh!" was his startled ejaculation, as he started up on seeing her, and clasped his hands deprecatingly. Christine, who comprehended too well the import of the gesture, stopped short, and burst into bitterer tears than ever.

"Poor child! you *shall* not go roaming about again!" he exclaimed, sympathizingly. "Jacques, the foolish fellow, I couldn't keep him; but I'll hold you fast enough. Left only half an hour ago. I will go myself to fetch him back, and I'll take the fleetest beast in R——."

"I will go too!" said Christine, rising tremulously.

"No, that you shall not. Be quiet! rest easy! You have been crossing each others' track these two months, and enough of it you've had for your folly, both of you. I'll not stand palavering now, but—wife, keep your eye on her, and don't let her stir a step from the house!"—and snatching his hat, the kind dictator rushed through the outer door.

Jacques Leroy was zealously pursuing his way along the prairie road, about seven miles away from R——, well muffled up from the early autumn blasts, and scowling on the smiling blue sky which bent over the *ignis fatuus* of a bride that had been flitting so illusively before him, when he caught a faint "halloo!" from a bluff he had just left behind. He raised his ear from its enveloping collar, and listened wistfully for a moment; then remarking to his companion, "Some hunter, 'tis likely," he relapsed into his former attitude.

"Halloo! stop! hold on there, comrade!" rang out nearer, and fairly startled the steed they suddenly reined up.

A reeking horse rushed alongside, flecked with foam, followed by a rattling wagon, in which a man started up, with a face as round and radiant as the moon at its very fullest.

"Ha! ha! a fine fellow you are! running away from your Christine, at this rate! I told you so, comrade!"

"Christine! sacre!" The usually quiet Jacques started almost out of his hat and cloak.

"Yes, Christine, man! Pack yourself into my cart in a hurry, or she'll be away to the ends of the earth on your track, before we reach her. Gee up, Tom!" and he bestowed a whack, that sent the animal plunging up the steep side of the bluff. "I told you so, I told"—but his triumphant chuckle died away in the rattling of the cart wheels.

Christine sat, all the while, leaning against a pane of the small window, scarcely conscious of either hope or fear; her faculties were bound up in the intensity of watching. Many a whirlwind of dust, and many a distant carriage-rattle, cheated her heart into a quick, suffocating throb, before the *right one* heralded a jaded, dripping horse—a waving red handkerchief, and then—

"*Il vient!*" she cried, springing wildly from her seat. Yes, he comes at last! 'Tis his face, his step, *his*, that rings on the threshold! I cannot tell you anything more of that meeting. Christine herself never described it to me, save by the eloquence of a starting tear; never attempted the utterance of what was unutterable in her heart. It is not only the soul of exalted sensibilities that hides gems of feeling, too sacred to wear the veil of words. The rudest, most uncultivated human spirit has a capacity for joy or woe, which the hand of an angel could never fill—the soul of an angel could never speak!

Christine and her Jacques came to our Prairie de la Fleur; and in the confines of its grove they gave a "local habitation" to the little home their humble visions had shadowed forth. Not largely indebted to the luxuries of civilization was that home, to be sure. It was built of logs, but then it was nicely and tightly built; and it was neatly kept and garnished inside, by the busy hands of the little cheerful matron. Tall trees, all around, sheltered it from the heats of summer, and the storms of winter howled not too fiercely there. A little patch in front bears the squashes, sweet corn, and melons, watched and watered every summer by Christine's own especial care. *One* little bank, just under her bit of a bed-room window, is thickly sown with flower-seeds from the green island over the sea; and she never wearies of nourishing, cherishing, and admiring, these exiled pets of her childhood. Wild roses spring up without call at the very gate, and nameless vines curl over the brush fence, and up the rough corners of the cot. The voice of prayer has hallowed that lowly home; and the incense of thanksgiving has gone up from hearts that had taken the Angel of Contentment for the guardian genius of their humble hearth.

Do you wonder that Jacques and Christine have been happy—that they are happy still?

THE EUROPEAN WORLD.

The fears concerning the fate of the Atlantic increasing—The Political Contrast between 1800 and 1851—The Council at Dresden—Its aims identical with the purposes of the Holy Alliance in 1814 and 1815—What was resolved on then—Russia's protests and real purposes with reference to Poland—Her last act towards Poland—She aims to Polandize Hungary next—The utter failure of the Diet or Confederation to work out the ends for which it was nominally designed—Those ends contrasted with what it has effected for Germany, &c.

NEW YORK CITY, *January* 25, 1851.

To the Editor of the National Era:

The failure of the last steamship which has reached our shores from Europe to bring news of the safety of the Atlantic, has by no means served to lessen the anxiety of the commercial men of this city with reference to her fate. Though some days have elapsed since the arrival to which I refer above, we are still without tidings of the missing craft. You will therefore understand that the excitement about her is intense, in commercial circles especially. A few, I find, who are yet unwilling to admit that she may be lost, owing to the fact that no more staunch sea boat ever left a port. The fact that she would be forced to turn her head eastward, (under canvass,) even if six days out, is in favor of her safety. As, had an accident occurred to her when that far on her voyage, it would have taken her fourteen days to reach Liverpool. Such is the calculation of those who entertain a strong belief that she is at least on the water, if disabled.

But I have no fancy for speculation on this subject. Once at sea, and a ship and all on board are at the mercy of elements which, unfortunately, too often baffle the skill and strength of poor human nature. We must wait as patiently as possible for the two next European arrivals by steam, before it will be possible to come to any reliable opinion as to her fate. What an awful state of suspense must they be in, who have immediate relatives or friends in this vessel!

I find that at the date of last advices from London—to the 4th instant—the liberal writers of all Europe were busy, inditing reflections on the progress of the world of letters, science, and government—of civilization—within the last half century. Well may they thus occupy themselves, for the theme is noble indeed. Were I to venture to dilate on it as I feel, I might write volumes, to occupy all your columns for months. I may say, however, that, as ill-governed as the old world still is, those who love civil liberty have cause, indeed, to give thanks for the altered condition of things which the time elapsing between 1800 and 1851 has brought about. Then, all the European world, well nigh, acknowledged, if they did not believe in, the divine right of Kings. Now, none, save those who thrive on unjust *privilege*—as ten in a thousand only—can be induced by force or persuasions to pronounce that theory of Government right, which their hearts and better judgment declare to be wrong.

The year 1800 opened upon Europe engaged in the seventh year of a Continental war, which raged on, consuming limbs, lives, and, what is more valuable in the eyes of Monarchical Governments, millions of gold, for fifteen long years after that time. Ending then, a long peace followed as a natural consequence, the thirty-fifth year of which has but just expired. This protracted and prostrating war, it will be remembered, resulted in confining, in his temporary ocean-bound prison, the man who, against his own will, did more, far, for the liberalization of the Continent, than all others besides; by encouraging liberal ideas, as the only surety of keeping the affections of the whole-souled people whose sovereign it was his purpose to be. Though the war left England saddled with a debt, the principal of which can never be paid—while the interest, being due for the most part to the middle classes of her citizens, induces them to strive to keep things as they now are—to dread radical changes in their Government—and also left the Continent under the dominion of "the Holy Alliance," an immensity has really been effected in the way of social reforms and ameliorations of government.

Your readers, I presume, all know what the various peoples of the Continent have been about. How, in the course of the thirty-four years of peace, aided by the advance of science and literature, they have not only checkmated the efforts of the Governments to reduce the popular mind to the condition of contentment with serfdom in which it rested prior to the rise of Napoleon, but that they have sapped the foundation of every one (Government) on the Continent, save that of Russia, the subjects of which being even yet for the most part utter barbarians, know not that individual happiness and prosperity flow from the enjoyment of civil rights.

While your readers must know these now well ascertained facts, they may not know the immense difficulties which the peoples have overcome in this work. Reflection on them will be apt to bring them (your readers) to my belief that the year 1900, if not 1875, will find Europe, out of Russia, under Republican Governments only. That American must be skeptical of the eternal justice of the principles on which his own Government is founded, who will doubt that, with such power in their hands as the peoples are deriving from the spread of the knowledge that all power rightfully belongs to them and is within their reach, their march to the destruction of all class privileges on the Continent is as swift as sure. Though the Governments have now far more reasons to band together, than on the conclusion of the Continental war, in 1814, I am an unbeliever in their capacity to do so extensively and effectually; for Democratic elements are now infused into too many of them to allow their proposed second Holy Alliance to accomplish half as much for the cause of what is blasphemously termed "the grace of God," as resulted from the famous Council of Vienna. Just now, it will be most instructive to cast our mind's eye over the action of that famous league of Satan's allies, for they must form no mean element among those entering into the calculations on which we are to make up our minds as to the probability of the success of the intrigue now in course of progress at Dresden. I must again repeat, however, that though Schwartzenberg may bully to subserve the interest for which Metternich flattered, though Von Neurath and Von der Pfordten may now protest and fly into rages as Linden and Werde did on that occasion, and Manteuffel may "cahoodle" (to use a common *Americanism*) where Humboldt argued and boldly planned, their labors will be in vain. At that time, Hanover was the finger of England, more liberal then, as now, than the rest of the co-plotters. On this occasion, there will be none found to advocate the semi-liberal sentiments which the English people have forced on their Government. This, with the existence of the same hopes and fears which governed the plotters in 1814, (rendered ten-fold more active by the greater danger in which they are in, owing to the greater prevalence of the Democratic idea,) form the only two elements of greater strength which the new Council possesses; while it is surrounded by innumerable elements of weakness, which then had no existence. In pursuance of a provision of the treaty of Paris, signed on the 30th of May, 1814, by the great Powers, the Vienna Council met on the 25th of September of the same year.

On that day, not only the representatives of Austria, Britain, France, Russia, Prussia, Portugal, Spain, and Sweden, (which had signed the Peace of Paris,) but also ministers plenipotentiary from all the other sovereigns in Europe, accompanied, many of them, by their masters, come together there. Their first business on that occasion was to quarrel over precedence of rank; and it is worthy of notice that just now they indulge in no such frivolity—evidently showing that they are aware that they are too heavily pressed by the peoples in their rear, to venture to throw away precious time in looking after the shadow, instead of the substance, of State. The eight great Powers I have named above formed themselves into a committee, really to dispose of all questions before them, tendering to the "outsiders" the poor compliment of an invitation to consult only *after* they had themselves made up their minds how matters were to be ordered. It should be mentioned that the attendance of all the others except the signers of the treaty of Paris was unasked, though on their appearance on the ground, they were complimented with permission at least to look on. In the case now in course of progress, all the Powers of Germany, great and small, have been *invited*, none being considered too unimportant (as then) to join the league or intrigue for the safety of all. They were then at liberty to intrigue against each other, as they are *not* now; the common danger (from the spread of the democratic idea) being too imminent to allow of plots within plots to any considerable extent.

Thus, in a private corner, Russia and Prussia agreed to take as their indemnification for the cost of their respective shares of the war, Poland and Saxony. In the committee, England, France, and Austria, opposed this self-aggrandizing arrangement; the first confining her protest only to the absorption of Poland by the Northern Bear. Castlereagh, in that paper, spoke in indignant terms of the conduct of Saxony during the war, holding her sovereign to strict account for tergiversations which were as justly chargeable upon every other Continental Power. He thus threw the Council into a delectable state of confusion, which, with the aid of the jealousies manifested all around the council-table, ultimately saved the gingerbread crown of Saxony in the possession of her treacherous popinjay sovereign. Austria proposed to give up Gallicia and also to let Prussia have Saxony, by way of preventing Russia from stretching her dominion up to her (Austria's) border. Prussia was also anxious to keep the claws of the Great Bear at a respectable distance from *her* frontier; more especially when she thought herself about to be consoled for fancied sacrifices by the acquisition of the finest State on the Continent—Saxony. The jealousy of France, lest Prussia should acquire a too great importance by the proposed cutting and carving up, however, defeated the aspirations of the latter. So she was not only inconsistent with her professions of disinterestedness, but intrigued with great industry and effect against the Polandizing of Saxony.

The Emperor Alexander, bent on pursuing the policy of his great ancestor, Peter, left no stone unturned to acquire Poland. He entered into secret treaties, beseeched England, and even went so far as to make extensive preparations for war. Nesselrode, to carry his point, lied and threatened with equal readiness. He started the then current story, that the Poles were so eager to come under the protection of Russia—alas! as the sequel proved, such protection as the wolf gave the lamb—as to be about to take up arms to accomplish that object. He prated about the *National* Constitution which the Emperor designed framing for the "Duchy of Warsaw;" and he went so far as to offer his intercession with Austria and Prussia, to obtain for their Polish subjects provincial institutions, by way of preserving their nationality, and securing for them the virtual conduct of their own affairs.

Just here, permit me to digress, by way of saying that, by the very last arrival, we have positive news from Warsaw, saying that Russia has but just finished her task of *denationalizing* Poland, which she doubtless proposed for herself while making all these false, "dear people" professions. She has dismissed every native judge and civil officer in Poland, supplying their places with Russians, and in every other manner has deprived the Poles of distinct and separate position. Up to this time the administration of her Government in Poland differed in many respects from that in operation in Russia. But now, all is *Russian;* the local laws being repealed by a breath from the Emperor. How long will it be ere she prates of the earnest desire of Hungary to better her condition by placing herself wholly in the fatherly keeping of the Czar, now that she has suddenly advanced her immediate frontier up to the very line of Hungary?

But to resume the thread of my story. Russia succeeded in bullying and bamboozling England and Austria out of their opposition to the sacrifice of Poland, for which, *faux pas* the Parliament is blameable, (not Castlereagh,) which gave up the Poles to the tender mercies of the Czar, in exchange for the abolition of the African slave trade, that cost those according it absolutely nothing. Astute statesmanship this, indeed.

After settling this matter so as to place all the eastern half of Europe within the grasp of the Czar, the Council bethought itself of German affairs, and the committee on that branch of their business—Austria, Prussia, Hanover, Wirtemberg, and Bavaria—on the 16th of October reported a series of articles which eventually became the basis of the Confederation of the Bund, just pronounced ineffectual for the purpose designed—the assurance of the sovereign families in their ill-gotten power—in the letter of invitation which Russia sent round inviting the progressing Council at Dresden. Though other provisions were subsequently substituted for those embraced in this report, they are worthy of note, inasmuch as they embraced a guarantee by the Confederation, of a *minimum* of popular rights to be accorded throughout Germany, leaving each Government to increase them at its own option.

But Austria and Prussia were on too good terms to suit Wirtemberg and Bavaria, haunted then, as now, with visions of an union between the great Powers, to swallow up their less important neighbors. So they intrigued successfully to defeat this plan—basing their opposition on their repugnance to any Confederation—of interference to protect the peoples of the various States against the tyranny of their respective masters. England, through Hanover, did her best to preserve this very feature in the articles—declaring that the long enjoyed rights of the German subjects should be announced; that all territorial Constitutions should be maintained; and that, in countries (of Germany) where no States had yet been formed, the people should be guarantied a voice in making the laws, and should be forced to pay no taxes which they did not themselves assess; and, further, that they should in all cases be entitled to watch over the expenditure of the taxes, with the right to demand the punishment of the public functionaries in cases of malversation.

But the trickery of Bavaria and Wirtemberg broke up the Council before these wise guaranties were agreed on, and an adjournment of the committee, lasting for five months, took place. That recess was passed by the lesser Powers in intrigue to reinstate Austria in the protectorate or chief direction of German affairs. They were backed by the Church, which then held separate principalities as it were, in the bosom of several of the German States, though their pretension to sovereign power had been suppressed in 1803, and in company with the lesser princes, Counts of the empire and free towns, they were unceremoniously mediatized three years after.

But, previous to the day for the reassembling of this committee, Napoleon broke loose from Elba, and appeared in France. I need not here recount the history of his short but valiant subsequent effort, ending at Waterloo. The Vienna Council still being in session, it caused the reassembling of the German committee on the 23d of May, 1815, into which a sense of common danger compelled the admission of the lesser Powers, one and all. Napoleon's approach, at the head of an immense army, caused a very unexpected unanimity in the sentiments of this body, which Metternich found himself suddenly able to lead by the nose. He had only to say "Napoleon" to them, and they were evidently ready to obey any behest of his master. By the tenth of June, *his* plan was adopted for the Confederation of Germany, through the influence—fear—to which I refer above.

That was, in few words, as follows. The mediatizing counts, prelates, and prince-beggars, were stripped of their power and of their money or property, where they had any. Austria and Prussia were recognised to be members of the Confederation, as owners of German possessions. The Federal Diet was established, with a totality of twenty votes, and Austria was announced as its President. The voice or proportionate power of each State in enacting fundamental changes in the articles of Confederation, was carefully arranged to suit, as near as might be, the purpose of Austria—Metternich, as before remarked, being the author of the particular scheme. Frankfort was chosen for the seat of the Diet, and the union undertook to guaranty the continuance of its power against aggression (outside of Germany) to each of the thirty-eight Kingdoms, States, families, and free cities, of which it was composed. Assemblies of the States—meaning legislative representative assemblies—were guarantied to the people of each State. As the sequel proved, this clause was never designed to be carried out; it being a mere ruse to induce the peoples to rally to their support against Napoleon. He being disposed of, nought but virtual revolution has succeeded in inducing any one of the sovereigns of the Confederation to accord this thus guarantied right to his subjects. At last all the monarchs of the Continent united in guarantying to Germany the enjoyment of these terms of confederation, one and all.

Now, instead of answering either one of the good purposes for which it was *nominally* formed, it has destroyed the liberty of the press well nigh throughout Germany, and has enabled the larger and more reactory States to check the disposition of the smaller ones to retain power in present hands, by according privileges to their peoples. It has been found utterly inefficient in doing away with frontier custom-house vexations and robberies, in establishing anything like system and order in the weights, measures, and coins, of the different States, or even in repressing insurrection in the different States; though once in a while it has succeeded in frightening over learned savans well nigh into fits, and in gagging the mouths of tipsy, and therefore noisy and *very* patriotic, students.

The occurrences of 1848 have waked up the great Powers to the insufficiency of the Confederation of 1815. Deploring its failure in their invitations to meet at Dresden, they are, however, careful not to mention that it *has* failed, only because *they* themselves have never observed their obligations under it. The Confederation remains in force, though its Constitution long since went the way of all flesh; only because the causes which generated it—the fears of the sovereigns—are as active now as against their respective subjects, as in 1814 against Napoleon.

LIBERALIST.

For the National Era.

A SOUL'S PILGRIMAGE THROUGH HOLY LAND.

BY CAROLINE CHESEBRO.

THE DESERT.

Oh world, whose highest hope and true elysian
Are wide apart as foes—whose death and love
Reign twined and severless—how shall I prove
To mine own soul, fiends hold not here commission?
How tempted and pursued, in wild derision,
O'er wastes of sand and ruin, shall I go
To that still land where buds of heartsease blow?
Doth peace lie in escape, or in submission?
Oh, dread simoon of life! oh, fiery sun!
Beneath the palm-trees let me fall and die!
I faint, who have a dreary desert trod—
I, who had thought my course but now begun.
A desolated heart wails through my sigh—
Life is so hard for one forgot of God!

THE JORDAN.

How strong we are! I dreamed that my lost spirit
Fled from its clay home 'neath the desert palm;
Yet here I live—One tells me to inherit
The blessed heartsease and the Gilead balm.
If I but pass this wild and foaming river,
But lave my spirit in its sun crown'd flood—
If so I bind my soul to Him forever,
And wear His cross, His crown, and drink His blood:
But heavy is that cross—the crown is thorny—
And from the red, the bloody draught, I shrink:
The way His soldiers tread is dark and stormy—
Good angels, guard me from this fearful brink!
* * * * * * * *
Now—now! Thine! Father, help me or I perish—
All thine! . . . Thou wilt my life, my soul-life, cherish!

BETHLEHEM.

Peace to a troubled heart—a life new-born!
Joy! o'er the manger of an humble thought
Streams one clear ray of light; the promised morn
Has come at last, with grace and beauty fraught.
Soft in a soul is heard the echoed tone
Of God's high angels, and the wise men bend,
And at its feet lay prayers, a diamond zone—
They would befriend the Master's chosen friend.
Weak from regeneration, let the child
Of faith rest in the sheltering arm of God—
The storm without is yet for him too wild—
The light too dim—too rugged is the road;
But he will bravely stand another day,
And battle with the hosts which crowd his way.

JERUSALEM.

Lord! be thou thanked, that not as other men
I labor in Thy service: Lo, I come,
And give my wealth, not to receive again—
To pray and fast; and so is Thy will done.
Thy temple is my chosen dwelling-place,
My voice is never wanting in its prayers,
My words teach sinners how to sue for grace,
My life how they may fly the tempter's snares.
Great God be thanked! that not as publican
Or vile transgressor I must seek thy throne—
I know that very weak and vain is man,
But over *me* thy loving light has shone:
And therefore do I offer my free praise,
And therefore tread in thine appointed ways!

MOUNT OLIVET.

Lord, God of Mercy! hath thy mercy failed me?
I stand in mine own shadow crushed, afraid:
The strength, the pride of man no more avail me—
Help me, who am the weakest thou hast made!
Ah, help! my wild will is itself assailing,
My vanity hath failed me, and I faint—
My weak, presumptuous, selfish spirit, quailing,
Droops e'en in utterance of its woeful plaint!
I gloried in my might, my pride asserted
The grandeur of the human—*then I fell*—
I called the Angels *brothers!*—I, deserted
By all pure spirits the weak slave of hell!
Oh, Father, ransom me, and let me be
The least of humble servants unto Thee!

GETHSEMANE.

He will not hear: the branches grow too close,
They spread too wide—my voice cannot ascend.
The baleful verdure of my heart, its gross
And dismal shade, increasing terror lend
To the strong voice of Conscience! through the gloom
How doth its voice, (as did the voice of God,
When Adam heard it that day,) tell my doom—
What woe it stamps upon the guilty clod!
I fear that voice—it is not that which led
My soul o'er Jordan in its night of fear;
I dread that voice! oh, 'tis not that which said,
"Be calm, my child, for *I* am with thee here."
He will not heed: if tears might lave away
My dark, deep guilt, I should be pure to-day!

CALVARY.

Lo! in the "shadow of the cross" I stand,
And hear another wail which hushes mine.
Eyes drooping in last agony—a band
Of foes beneath Him, but above Him shine
The hosts of choral angels, while the voice,
The Father's voice, assures His blessed Son,
Unheard of mortals!
Shall we not rejoice,
And hope, for His sake who *hath* God's will done?
Above the cursing and the groan of Earth
Soft comes a blessing from the central cross—
"Forgive them:" Soul, thou must be saved, if worth
That final word: life, anguish, are not loss.
Go, pilgrim soul! tread where God's angel leads,
And strew thy path with prayers and holy deeds.

Canandaigua, 1851.

AGRICULTURAL GEOLOGY.—No. 8.

BY JOSIAH HOLBROOK.

Oxygen, calcium, carbon, sulphur, phosphorus, nitrogen, hydrogen, chlorine, and flourine, are *ultimate principles* of matter—simple elements, never yet decomposed or rendered more simple. They all enter into lime formations. Oxygen and calcium are the elements of quick-lime. Oxygen and carbon form carbonic acid. The oxyde of calcium, combined with carbonic acid, forms the carbonate of lime—the material of extensive mountain ranges, of lime-stone in all its varieties of texture, color, and other properties. Coral formations, extending many thousand miles in different parts of the earth, are the carbonate of lime, and used for the ordinary purposes of that mineral. Marbles, existing in several hundred varieties, are also carbonates of lime. So is chalk. So are several hundred crystalline forms of this important element of our globe. These crystals, though presented under two or three hundred different shapes, can all be reduced to one shape, shown in rhombic spar, which, if broken into fragments smaller than the head of a pin, presents in every fragment a rhombic or diamond-shaped crystal.

All the carbonates of lime are composed of three simple elements or ultimate principles, viz: Oxygen, the great supporter of combustion; carbon, the principal element of coal in all its varieties—whether mineral or vegetable, of course the most important combustible upon our globe; and calcium, a metal, also combustible. The oxygen first exists in two combinations, viz: with carbon and calcium; these two compounds are also combined, of course still more compounded, producing the most abundant carbonate, and one of the most abundant rocks and useful minerals upon our globe.

Next to carbonates of lime, the sulphates are the most abundant and useful of all lime formations. These are also composed of three elements, and the same as in the carbonates, excepting that sulphur takes the place of carbon. The oxygen and the sulphur form sulphuric acid; that, combining with the oxygen of calcium, gives the sulphate of lime. This abundant deposit of lime formations also presents very numerous appearances. All the sulphates of lime, or nearly so, give to the thumb-nail. The carbonates yield to the point of the knife, but not to the thumb-nail. The carbonates effervesce with any strong acid, even vinegar, which effervescence shows what is called life in an eye-stone, which is the mouth-piece of certain shells; all shells being the carbonate of line. Sulphuric acid has a stronger hold in its various combinations than most other acids, and is hence not displaced either by carbonic, muriatic, or nitric acids. Consequently the sulphate of lime does not, like the carbonate, effervesce with any common acid. The thumb-nail, the point of the knife, and common acid, are hence sufficient tests, for ordinary purposes, to distinguish the carbonates of lime from sulphates. The sulphate, like the carbonate, appears in many beautiful crystalline forms.

EXPERIMENT.—By collecting such varieties of these two lime formations as any one can easily procure, and arranging them upon the mantel-piece, or in a case, a beautiful "CALCAREOUS CABINET" will be formed. These specimens, tested by each other, by the thumb-nail, the point of a knife, a piece of quartz or glass, any acid, even vinegar, also by the sight, feel, and taste, will furnish much rich instruction and delightful amusement to the possessor. If any one doubts it, let him try the experiments. If he has no doubt, he will try it of course.

LETTER FROM LONDON.

LONDON, *January* 10, 1851.

To the Editor of the National Era:

The committee of the great exhibition have already published the classification of articles in the building for exhibition, at least the general principles which will be adhered to in the arrangement of articles. Each nation will have a distinct quarter for its purposes of exhibition, with the exception of such machinery as the owners intend to exhibit in motion—all such, from whatever country, will be placed in one department where steam-power can more conveniently be used. The committee will give *gratis* to exhibitors a certain amount of steam-power, and to all is afforded the liberty to arrange their own articles according to their own taste, the committee only selecting the space and exercising a general oversight in the arrangements.

The building itself, as far as outward appearance goes, is complete, and looks as finely as it ever will look, though, in point of fact, it is not quite finished. Its appearance on a frosty morning with the slant sun-beams falling upon it is peculiarly brilliant and beautiful, and what strikes one most forcibly is its originality. There is no building like it in the world, and though it may not be well calculated to endure age yet it is peculiarly fitted for purposes of a transitory nature.

Your readers may not be entirely aware that it is quite an old custom in England at a certain period of the year for interested parties to get up a great hue and cry about the state of the national defences. Such is the case, however—as surely and regularly as any season comes and goes does this cry fill the ears of the nation, and when it has effected its object die away. The object is to frighten John Bull in reference to the prospect of a French invasion, that he will not grumble at the enormous appropriations for the army and navy departments. This year Sir Francis Head opened the cry, and Lord Kinnaird has followed it up in a letter to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, proposing that what surplus revenue there will be (and there will be a large one) in the Exchequer of the nation next spring, be appropriated towards strengthening the national defences! Certainly a nation with a debt such as hangs like a millstone about the neck of Great Britain, must be at a loss how to appropriate a surplus in her revenues, and, simply because she knows not *what* to do with it, throw it away foolishly in augmenting the defences! The army, navy, and ordinance expenses of last year were nearly eighteen millions of pounds sterling, and it is necessary, to counteract the efforts of Cobden and the peace party, to scare the nation into voting its moneys into the pockets of gallant "younger sons" of the aristocracy, in pay for their defence of the liberties of the country against France. Poor France, that cannot take care of herself, it is said is ready to cross the Channel almost any favorable night and march an army to London, to burn it as a British army once burned Washington! Even if these forebodings were true and sincere, it would only prove the truth of the remarkable line:

"What cowards doth conscience make of us all."

But it is a mere deception. No sensible man in England fears a French invasion; but, by dint of continual crying the interested ones get the full appropriations to the army and navy, well aware that if let alone the people would not stand such enormous taxation for empty glory.

The number of deaths in London during last week was larger than for any corresponding week for a number of years—it amounted to 1,369—the result, probably, of unusual weather. The warmth of last week was astonishing for January. In the country, in certain parts, there is a look of spring, and the birds have been deceived into building nests and laying their eggs. The weather was quite as warm as the average of May weather over New England.

Quite a dispute is going on in the metropolitan journals in reference to the alleged wrong imprisonment of a Mr. Taylor in the Queen's Prison for debtors, for the long term of fourteen years. He was released a few days since, and in his joy quaffed more alcoholic liquor than his brain could clearly manage, and was taken in charge by the police. The next morning in the police court he stated in extenuation of his conduct the fact of his long imprisonment, and upon examination it was found that he had been imprisoned for so long a time by a legal *mistake!* The daily journals at once complained of the legal officers who were guilty of such an astonishing blunder, and also of the unwieldly machinery of the Chancery Court. Charles Dickens wrote one of his best articles upon the subject, depicting the horrors of prison-slavery, when Sir Edward Sudgen comes out in the *Times*, and denies that the officers were at fault, and is sorry that Mr. Dickens should be guilty of such blunders! Since, however, it has been proved that in the same prison another man has lain for *thirty-three years*, through a similar mistake to that which enslaved Mr. Taylor so long!

For some months past the leading journals have been advocating legal reform, especially in the chancery courts, and the presence of Mr. Dudley Field, of New York, has given a strong impulse to the movement. The recent reforms in the State of New York have been widely quoted as precedent for a change. It is certainly flattering to American jurisprudence when the leading thinkers of England quote its reforms as worthy of being followed in Britain. Lord Brougham, who is constantly dancing about from one subject to another, is in favor of reform, and though no one knows what to make of so erratic a genius, yet all acknowledge his profound knowledge of law, and his opinions on any matter connected with it carry considerable weight. But reforms move slowly in England, and it will take a century, perhaps, to achieve what New York achieved in a tithe of that time.

I perceive that the East India Company imported last week 1,452 bales of cotton from their plantations. The bales were readily sold in Manchester, as there is quite a demand for free-labor cottons in certain portions of this country, and a part of the importation was equal in quality to the generality of American cottons. A part of it was raised from New Orleans seed.

A large meeting was held in the metropolis on Wednesday evening, to agitate for the repeal of the odious window tax. Lord Stuart was one of the prominent speakers present. The duty upon light, it is argued by reformers, is altogether too atrocious a practice to be allowed in England.

The quarrel in France, which has been going

on for the last few weeks between the Legislative and Executive powers, has at last come to something like a focus, and Louis Napoleon is in an unenviable position.

On the 3d instant, M. Bonaparte, a Liberal member of the Assembly, arose and asked leave to interpellate the Minister of War as to certain instructions which it was reported General Changarnier had given to the army under his command, and which savored much of despotism. The Minister asked time to reply, but the Assembly would not grant his wish. He demanded at least till Monday (this was Saturday) to reply, but the House would not allow him an hour. So, taken at a time when he was unprepared to prove that General Changarnier had gone beyond his powers, the General arose and made a speech, in which he denied that he had given the despotic orders to the army which had been attributed to him in some of the journals, and in the course of his speech fairly threw himself into the arms of the Legislature as its defender. His explanations were received with applause, and the general impression was, that he had divorced himself completely from the Executive, and joined the Legislature. The manifest coldness of a great majority of the Assembly towards the Ministry has been apparent for some time; but this insult to the Minister of War was not expected, and on the following Monday they sent in their resignations to the President, who, it was first reported, had accepted them; but such is not yet the case, for he cannot form a new Cabinet.

Louis Napoleon is determined that General Changarnier shall be dismissed from his post. He fears him, and knows that it will be utterly impossible for him to execute any of his ambitious designs while that general has control of the army. He declares that he will accept no Minister who is not willing to hold in his hand the dismissal of the General; and while many agree with him as to the desirability of his removal, no one dares to try the experiment. A large party in the Assembly declare, that if Changarnier be dismissed they will elect him President of the Assembly, and in that office he, by the Constitution, can name the amount of troops for the defence of that body, and will have them under his control. As a last resort, the President threatens to throw himself into the arms of the Red Republicans, and already he has had an interview with M. Billault, a Red, in reference to the formation of a Republican Cabinet, at the head of which he will put M. Billault. During the quarrel, the Mountain has united with the Legitimists, though it owes anything but good will to General Changarnier, and it is thought it will be ready to sanction his removal. One thing is certain—the Reds and Moderates are not sorry that Louis Napoleon, after his hypocritical conduct, finds himself unsupported in the Assembly, for such is literally the case. In a long conference with M. Mole he declared "that there was not a fraction of the Assembly, however minute, that did not consider itself justified in openly or secretly opposing him."

It is said, that the President has been advised to throw himself upon the people, or declare an Empire and himself its head. Such a thing were easier said than done, however; for, with an Assembly opposed to him, and an eminent general, who is his enemy, in command of the troops, he could do nothing. He rigidly adheres to his determination in reference to the removal of General Changarnier. Whether that can be done and peace be secured to the nation remains to be seen.

The news from Germany and other portions of Europe is unimportant. JULIAN.

THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, FEBRUARY 6, 1851.

Caroline Cheseboro, not Chesebro, is the name of the author of a poem on the 1st page of the *Era*, which will be sure to attract attention.

LIFE ON PRAIRIE DE LA FLEUR.—We commend to the notice of our readers the sketches under this title, by Mary Irving, now in course of publication in the *Era*.

THE NEW PLEDGE.

The names on the Tee-total Slavery Pledge do not grow very rapidly in popular favor. Many of the signers have got frightened, and withdrawn their names. The Washington correspondent of the *New York Express*, under date of January 24th, gives the following names of subscribers, so far as he knows.

Henry Clay,	Howell Cobb,
C. S. Morehead,	H. S. Foote,
Robert L. Rose,	William Duer,
William C. Dawson,	James Brooks,
Thomas J. Rusk.	Alex. H. Stephens,
Jeremiah Clemens,	R. Toombs,
James Cooper,	M. P. Gentry,
Thomas G. Pratt,	Henry W. Hilliard,
William M. Gwin,	F. E. McLean,
Samuel A. Eliot,	A. G. Watkins,
David Outlaw,	H. A. Bullard,
C. H. Williams,	T. S. Haymond,
J. Phillips Phœnix,	A. H. Shepperd,
A. M. Schermerhorn,	Daniel Breck,
John R. Thurman,	James L. Johnson,
D. A. Bokee,	J. B. Thompson,
George R. Andrews,	J. M. Anderson,
W. P. Mangum,	John B. Kerr,
Jeremiah Morton,	J. P. Caldwell,
R. I. Bowie,	Edmund Deberry,
E. C. Cabell,	Humphrey Marshall,
Alexander Evans,	Allen F. Owen.

The only Democrat in the House, it will be observed, is Howell Cobb; the only Democrats in the Senate, are Foote, Rusk, Clemens, and Gwin. What has become of Houston and Downs, original signers, expunged their names, as we stated in our last. It seems that Mr. Whitcomb, of the Senate, and Mr. Gorman, of the House, have done the same. McGaughey of Indiana, we are informed, was one of the pledgers. But two Northern Whigs, besides the eight Silver-Greys of New York, are now on the list—Mr. Eliot of Boston, and Mr. Cooper of Pennsylvania.

At the last Presidential canvass, the Whigs of the North and South agreed to take a candidate on trust, without knowing precisely what would be his policy, and without defining any common ground in respect to slavery on which he was to be supported. The result was, the election of a President, who, owing to peculiar circumstances, came nearer in his administration to the Anti-Slavery policy than any of his predecessors. The slaveholding Whigs were disappointed, mortified—they saw, when too late, that the North had the "ace in its boot." Determined to trust no more to non-committalism, the Southern Whigs in Congress, with a few exceptions, sign a pledge that they will vote for no candidate for any office, who is not in favor of the Compromise measures, of the negro-catching act, and of the suppression of agitation on the subject of Slavery. This is an advertisement in advance, that, should the Whig party conclude to hold another National Convention at Philadelphia, in June, 1852, there must be no more non-committalism or double dealing. The Georgia platform must be adopted, and the candidate presented must place himself openly upon it, or there can be no coöperation between Northern and Southern Whigs. It was evidently the expectation of the latter, that the majority of their Northern associates would join them in the pledge, but they are greatly disappointed. The Northern Whigs suppose that they may have a strong candidate in General Scott, who thus far has not rendered himself particularly obnoxious by committing himself on sectional issues. Unwilling to forfeit this advantage by any premature avowal of policy, they decline embarrassing pledges.

But the time will soon come when each of the old parties of both sections will be called upon to act unitedly, in their national capacity—and then some common ground of action must be adopted and openly avowed. Neither the South nor the North will hereafter tolerate double-dealing, where the game shall be the Presidency. The candidate for that office must be known either as a supporter or an opponent of the Compromise, of the Fugitive Slave act, and the policy of suppressing Slavery agitation. The question involved in these measures might have been decided by the People at the last Presidential election and would have been, but for the dishonesty of scheming politicians. Had their will been made manifest by the election of a candidate opposed to the extension of Slavery, there would have been no Nashville Convention, no system of intimidation established to overawe the representatives of freemen, no abandonment of the Ordinance of 1787, no fraudulent grant of ten millions to Texas, no Slave-catching bill. The moment the opponents of Slavery-extension began to temporize and betray distrust of their own strength, the slaveholders were emboldened, and began at once a series of measures calculated to intimidate the North. The result we all know.

We agree, then, with the signers of the pledge in one thing: the election for President should be made to decide national issues. Let us all vote with our eyes open, knowing the principles and purposes of the party with which, and the candidate for whom, we vote. Away with all non-committalism and duplicity, and let the voice of the majority plainly, unequivocally pronounce, whether Slavery or Liberty shall be henceforth recognised as the controlling principle of the Federal Government.

PREACHERS AND POLITICS—A CONTRAST.

The "Union" of Sunday (the 19th ultimo) brought out, with a great flourish of trumpets, the Thanksgiving Sermon of Dr. Boardman of Philadelphia—a religio-political discourse on the dangerous agitation and fanaticism of the times, and on the horrors and perils of disunion. Its morality is of the low-toned, time-serving order—as a literary production, it is somewhat inflated and pedantic, and as much overloaded with quotations as some Senatorial speeches. We know that we may not, without incurring the charge of presumption, attempt criticism upon the literary character, least of all, upon the moral and religious tone of a discourse which has received the patronizing commendation of the "Union" and the "Pennsylvanian." Praise from the "Union and the Pennsylvanian!" Surely divinity is looking up.

Hunkerism boasts that the pacific and compromising resolutions of Union meetings call out solemn responses from pulpits of highest respectability, and journals of the most immaculate and unimpeachable orthodoxy—that great numbers of the higher order of the clergy, "rulers and chief priests," are declaring *against* the progress, the liberal opinions, the freedom, and the justice of the age—coming up to the help of the mighty against the Lord. And there is, alas! too much ground for such exulting—Stuart, Dewey, Barnes, Hawkes, Boardman, and many others, are always ready to answer the demands of the dominant power for anything in their line.

We have been struck in the perusal of discourses in vindication of slavery, or in support of the Fugitive Slave law, by the careful avoidance of Christ and his teachings. The reverend speakers luxuriate in vivid pictures of the patriarchal institutions—of men "after God's own heart" buying and selling slaves by the score—of hosts of servitors, male and female, in capacities of honor and dishonor, alike humble and submissive—gathered into one grand household, and subservient to one venerable and divinely appointed head. They even make much of Paul sending back Onesimus—but they generally manage to pilot the frail barque of their reasoning quite clear of the Evangelists. The teaching by the seaside they pass by in reverent silence—the Sermon on the Mount they dare not listen to, lest it utterly confound them and put them to open shame—and far be it from them to presume to re-enact that law of God which says, "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you." The Old Testament has been long the treasure-house from which they have taken balsams to heal the hurts of the Church—it now furnishes assuaging oil to be poured into the gaping wounds of the State, and sacred incense to be burned on the moustaches of the incensed chivalry. Whoever disturbs the peace of the Church, and renders its high places perilous, or uncomfortable, is a thief and a robber, and is at once to be expelled by weapons caught from the armory of most ancient Holy Writ. When will the people believe, what their spiritual teachers are doing their best to convince them of, that men wearing snowy neck-cloths, or bands and surplices, may stand up in velvet-hung pulpits and read most patriotic and pacific discourses—and even turn over the gilded leaves of the gold-clasped volume before them and cite the examples of patriarchs, priests, and kings, and all from other motives than the good of souls, or even the best good of the church.

We have heard somewhere a story of an Indian who went once to the house of a minister, and, sitting down in a corner, with an elongated face, began a religious conversation, in the only way known to him—that is, by solemnly repeating certain Scripture names, thus—

"Abraham—Isaac—Jacob"——

"Why, Tom, what do you mean?" interrupted the astonished divine.

"I mean *cider*," frankly replied his copper-colored friend.

Were we not fearful of being held as "little better than one of the wicked," we should say that, in our time, the minister seems too often to take the place of the poor Indian—*talks* Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and *means*——But we will leave the sentence unfinished and its import obscure, for we fear we were close verging on irreverence.

Early in the winter, we heard a lecture, delivered before the Lyceum of Lynn, Massachusetts, by a distinguished Doctor of Divinity. We went to hear a literary or scientific discourse, such as was usually brought before that Society, where reformers were understood to be under bonds, at least of *honor*, not to agitate. Such was the general desire and expectation. But we had, under a disguising title, a political harangue—a flippant, ungenerous tirade against reforms and reformers—a glorification of compromise, and a defence of the Fugitive Slave bill. Setting aside the unworthiness of the imposition in putting off a one-sided partisan production on a mixed audience, assembled to hear a popular lecture, it was a poor performance in itself—illiberal in spirit, illogical in reasoning—wanting in noble ideas and eloquent delivery. This speaker has a manner happily peculiar to himself, yet quite indescribable—a certain unsteadiness of footing and indistinctness of tone—an indolent indifference—a lounging, rolling way, particularly ill-adapted to give force to "words of truth and soberness." Yet we recollect being in one passage greatly struck by his manner. He was endeavoring to define what was absolute right and absolute wrong. It was not a sin to obey this Fugitive Slave law, he said—so far from being so did he consider it, that he would obey, even if it should require him to return his own brother or child into bondage. But, to utter an untruth was to do an absolute wrong—he would not tell a lie to save his own liberty, his life, or the lives of all those dear to him. As he paused for a moment and looked round on his audience, after giving utterance to this severe morality—standing with his figure no longer lounging on the desk before him, but gathered up to its full height—his eyes, before half-closed, now open and beaming—with his arms folded, and a stern and awful virtue making rigid his set lips—he impressed us profoundly—impressed us—as a remarkably fine example of the clerical Pecksniff.

"Woe's the day!" would our good grandfather have said, "woe's the day, when women set up to rebuke the clergy!"

Ah, no, dear grandfather, woe's the day when the clergy deserve such reproof!

Woman has a deeper sympathy with the suffering and oppressed than man—a heartier hatred of wrong, while her contempt for unmanliness and a time-serving expediency is more intense. Then, why should she not speak these out, with all earnestness and sincerity, even should a share of her sharp words fall to the clergy. If that venerable body are not more faithful to their high calling, the very children will begin to rebuke them out of their Sunday School lessons.

But, thank God, there are a goodly number yet who have not bowed the knee to the Baal of Slavery, nor been thrown into spasms of fright by the giant phantom of Disunion—men incorruptible and undismayed, who stand forth and proclaim the true Gospel, the pure democracy of Christ as it was first proclaimed by the wayside, on the Mount, and by the sea shore—who boldly preach justice and freedom and the great primal law of human right, which no sophistical reasoning can weaken, no compromise annul, and no legislation supersede. Of such are many of the noble New England clergy—of such is William Furness of Philadelphia, "not a whit behind the chiefest of *Freedom's* apostles." This true minister now occupies a noble position, yet few would deem it an enviable one. He has come up by much struggling to a great height, where he must battle with the elements to maintain his stand—where he has indeed the clear sunshine of God's approval—but where he must miss the quiet, the genial light and warmth and the pleasant companionship of the "valley-land." True, his feet are set upon a rock, but it is a rock in the midst of angry waters—between him and much which made life beautiful and happy rolls a deep sea, which may never be recrossed. It is not the malice of foes which tries the soul of the reformer, but the alienation of friends—it is not the new hate fiercely poured upon his head—but the old love coldly withdrawn from his heart.

Many and inestimable are the sacrifices which Mr. Furness has made of the friendships and confidences and pleasant associations of years, by his open and ardent advocacy of the most unpopular of unpopular causes. His reward is sure, nor yet altogether in the future. When our treasures are truly laid up in heaven, we do not fail to receive the interest here. To him it comes daily in a quickening of life—a deepening fervor, a larger growth of power—a miraculous increase of that childlike faith which leads the soul to loose its grasp on all human dependences, and seize hold on the sure promise of God, though to be swung out into darkness, and dragged through deeps. He does not preach that stern Roman justice whose motto is, "Do right, though the heavens fall!" but rather says, do right and the heavens will not fall. If they have been pillared by the mercy and forbearance of God thus long, and have not come down in blackness to whelm a world of wrongs and oppressions, far less will be the peril when men begin to "do justly and love mercy." Then shall the skies smile in brightness and shower down blessings; then shall be peace and true union—for freedom, equality, and fraternity, shall unite in indestructible bonds, not one nation alone, but all nations; then will be the world-wide recognition of that only true principle of Democracy, cradled in a manger and reared at a carpenter's bench; the hope of the poor and oppressed of all ages, and the final redemption of "the degraded, corrupt, and dissolute," whether they be found among free colored men or enslaved white men. G. G.

THE EXEMPTION OF LOCAL NEWSPAPERS FROM POSTAGE.

An intelligent postmaster in Pennsylvania, writing to us on business, throws out a suggestion or two worthy of consideration:

"I am sorry to see that county and thirty mile proviso for free papers in the Post Office bill as it passed the House.

"The roads radiate from cities in such manner, and the population near cities is so dense, that about one-half or more of all newspapers printed in the country will go free. It will make an odious distinction, especially obnoxious to all residents just beyond the thirty mile limit from every city. County privilege might claim some plea in its favor; but cities are generally in small counties, and thirty miles will reach an incredible number of offices outside of the county. Half cent is low enough; but if not, make it so, or 20 cents for 52 copies; *but let all mail matter pay.*

"I had hoped to find an expression of dissatisfaction to that feature of the law in the *Era; Christian Citizen; Ohio Evangelist; Independent*, New York; *Saturday Visiter; Tribune*, &c., but have been disappointed. Perhaps prudence or delicacy may have caused to be withheld any expression of disapprobation on the part of those papers, as their circulation is so diffuse that that feature will operate against them."

We formerly opposed the policy animadverted upon by our correspondent, but the local press seemed to regard it as vital to its interests; and our position was such as necessarily to render our opposition liable to the imputation of mere selfishness. For these reasons, we concluded to say nothing more on the subject.

As it is brought, however, directly to our notice, we must express our concurrence with the opinions of our correspondent. It may be right to charge less upon newspapers carried only thirty miles from the place of publication, but we cannot see how it is just to carry them for nothing. Somebody has to pay the cost of transportation—and is it right to charge this upon those who neither take nor publish such newwspapers?

Nor do we believe that the local press is so inferior in interest, as to require such a discrimination in its favor. It has advantages that no metropolitan newspaper can have—the official patronage of the county or district, the local advertising, the local news, &c. And, then, its expenses are comparatively light.

Besides, as our correspondent suggests, the newspapers of the large cities after all would be the greatest gainers by such a policy, as their circulation in the dense population encircling the cities is immense. Is it right to burden the mails with such an amount of free matter?

But, there is one consideration that addresses itself particularly to the self interest of our friends of the country press. When newspapers cease to yield any revenue to the post office, the postmaster will cease to interest himself in the extension of their circulation. A county newspaper is sent to a dozen offices or more within thirty miles; the *New York Evening Post* has subscribers at all of them. The former pays nothing; the latter a cent and a half or a cent on every number. The postmaster has a commission on the latter, none on the former. With the increase of the list of the *Post*, his commissions increase; but the more papers received from the county press, the greater his trouble—and he gets no pay for it. It is his interest to discourage the circulation of the latter and promote that of the former. If we were the publishers of a country newspaper, as a matter of self-interest we should insist upon the policy of charging some postage on our issues.

"*Let all mail matter pay.*" This is under present circumstances a sound maxim. The postage bill, as amended by the Senate, discriminates in favor of newspapers circulating within the State or Territory—half a cent postage being charged on them, one cent on newspapers circulating beyond the State or Territory where published. We should have no objection to see a further discrimination in favor of newspapers within the county where published—for instance, say a charge of 15 or 20 cents a year, or on 52 numbers. This would probably conciliate the postmasters, and give them an interest in promoting the circulation of such papers.

Our local circulation is insignificant of course. The District—five miles square—furnishes no patronage that will be increased by relieving the *Era* from postage within its limits. Still, we are quite willing that others should enjoy the benefit of the discrimination proposed,—only let all mail matter pay something.

THE LEGISLATURE OF NEW YORK.

The Hunker Whigs and Democrats in the New York Legislature have made repeated attempts to induce that body to endorse the President's message in relation to the Compromise measures respecting Slavery, but thus far have failed. The Democrats generally and the Hunker Whigs were exceedingly anxious to secure some expression of opinion before the election of a United States Senator, but on a test vote the Assembly, 60 to 55, refused to instruct the Judiciary Committee to report on a day certain.

Mr. Coffin has introduced in the Assembly a bill of which the following is an abstract:

"It provides that any person who shall arrest, or be in any manner concerned in arresting, any free citizen of that State, with intent to have him removed against his will beyond the jurisdiction of the State, shall be deemed guilty of kidnapping. Any person who shall have openly and publicly resided in the State for one year preceding such an arrest and removal shall be deemed a free citizen within the meaning of the act.

"On the trial of an indictment found under the act, the defendant may prove that the person charged to have been removed was not in fact a freeman entitled to come and reside in the State, and if the jury shall be satisfied thereof, they shall acquit the defendant; but no warrant, order, process, or certificate, issued or made by a court officer, and no ex parte affidavit, deposition, or record, shall be received or admitted in evidence to establish the right to arrest or remove the person charged to have been arrested or removed.

"This act does not apply to the use of a person attempted to be arrested or removed from beyond the jurisdiction of the State on a charge of treason, felony, or crime, or to such cases of arrest or removal of persons belonging to or employed in the army or navy of the United States."

An attempt was made to prevent the reception of the bill, but it failed—yeas, 104 nays 20.

UNITED STATES SENATORS.

The Hunkers of both the old parties are everywhere coalescing. Conservatism, whatever its party denomination, is identical in principle and affinities. In Missouri, the "Rottens," as they are styled, found little difficulty in amalgamating with the Whigs. In Massachusetts, the bolting Democrats of the Legislature are playing into the hands of Mr. Webster's friends, just as heartily as if they were openly coöperating with them. Rhode Island, a Whig State, has witnessed the election of a Democratic United States Senator, by a Legislature with a two-thirds Whig majority. James, a large manufacturer, was the candidate of the Democrats; Simmons, of the Whigs. Simmons was a liberal Whig, anti-slavery, in favor of mitigating some of the rigorous decrees of the Law and Order Party. Whipple was run against him by the "Silver Greys," who, after duly exercising themselves in this balloting game, went over to the Democrats, and elected James.

February 4th was the day fixed for the choice of a Senator by the New York Legislature, Hamilton Fish (Seward) being the caucus candidate of the Whigs. Twelve Whig Senators, and fifty-eight Whig Representatives attended the caucus, and he received the votes of 67, against 3 scattering. Five Senators and twenty-four Representatives were absent. The *New York Express* justifies their absence on the ground that the majority of the Whig members had refused to give any preliminary expression of opinion in relation to the Compromise Measures. It is clearly the policy of the "Silver Greys" to defeat the election of any candidate of liberal views, and who is not in favor of the Slave-Catching Act. The majority of the Democratic members is composed of Barnburners, and they will be apt to block this game. They will avoid all association or coöperation with the liveried lackeys of Slavery.

To-morrow is the day fixed for another effort to elect a Senator from Massachusetts. Mr. Rantoul has been chosen for the unexpired portion of this short session—the Free-Soilers having thus fulfilled their part of the arrangement to the letter. Our friends in Massachusetts are in good spirits. They may be disappointed, but we hope for the best. Should Hunkerism succeed in defeating them, it might be well for Governor Boutwell to consider whether, as a man of honor, he could retain the office to which Free-Soil votes had elected him. Ought he to take advantage of an act of bad faith on the part of political friends? Would he consent, under any circumstances, to retain money obtained under false pretences? It is a small matter to be a Governor—but an honest man is "the noblest work of God." What a grand rebuke to political treachery (should it triumph) would be his resignation; and what an honor to himself! His name would take its place forever on the roll af the illustrious men of Massachusetts who have made her history glorious.

"SOUND ON THE SUBJECT OF SLAVERY."

The pro-slavery and anti-slavery men agree precisely on one point, and this a vital one: they both require that a candidate for office should be "sound on the subject of Slavery." As Mr. Chase was coming from the Capitol, the other day, in company with a Southern Senator, the conversation turned upon the different degrees of hostility by Northern men to the institution of slavery.

"The truth is," said the Southerner, "I think just as well of your position as I do of ——'s," naming a Northern old line anti-slavery Senator. "The only difference between you is—he sticks to the Democratic organization, while you defy it."

"You are mistaken," said Chase; "I do not defy it, but desire to act with and in it; and I make no other condition than you do."

"What's that?" asked the Southerner.

"Why," sail Chase, "would you vote for the candidate of a Democratic Convention, unless he were sound on the subject of Slavery?"

"Certainly not," was the reply.

"Nor would I," said the Ohio Senator.

Quere, suggested a friend—"Who has the better claim to the title of National Democrat—he who would nationalize Freedom and localize Slavery, or he who would nationalize Slavery and localize Freedom?"

THE POLICY OF SECESSION ABANDONED.

We do not mean that the South has abandoned the policy of secession, for we never believed that she seriously entertained it. She had something to gain by threatening, and so she threatened. Our neighbors of the *Southern Press*, however, appear to have made up *their* minds not to secede, but to stay in the Union, and "grin and bear it." They say that "the indications are too clear to be mistaken that a majority of the Southern States will submit to the late measures of Compromise," although they believe, "that not one State of the South can be found to approve of that scheme." The *Press* predicts disastrous consequences from the "Southern infirmity" which has thus abandoned Southern rights:

"The first effect of Southern infirmity was the loss of the great right involved—the loss of all share of the territory in dispute. The second was still worse—the loss of that character for dignity, firmness, and faith, which the South had previously achieved—a loss which no power of computation can compute. The third is, the inevitable division of the South, one part seeing that power in future is conceded to the North, will always be tampering, bargaining, and shuffling with that section at the expense of its own."

What is the remedy? No effective one, says our neighbor—but there is a *palliative*. The Chief Executive is the strongest department of the Government, and the South must secure the control of that. How is this to be done? Not by National Conventions. Philadelphia and Baltimore Conventions will no longer be able to swindle the People.

"Let the South, then, nominate her own candidate. He can be sent into the House of Representatives. The South there will be almost twice as powerful as in the districts. And power in the Presidential election *is* power. She will have a much more respectable chance of electing her favorite there than in any other manner. And, if she fails in that, she will exercise an influence in electing some other man least hostile to her, twice as great as can be done in a National Convention. Those, therefore, who have allowed a superstitious reverence for the Union to overcome that much more sacred sentiment of attachment to the Constitution, and to equallity, and who have professed a determination to do everything within the Union for Southern rights, cannot hesitate now to lay hold of a great plain constitutional provision that is conservative of Southern equality."

Agreed!

But is the *Press* right sure that, should the South nominate her own candidate, he would be sent to the House? A sectional nomination of that kind openly made might compel the nomination of a candidate who would secure the electoral votes of the free States—and they, if united, can elect of themselves. Is the *Southern Press* counselling the best policy for the Interest it is anxtious to render all-controlling?

It thinks, if the election should go to the House, the South would be able to make much better terms than it could in a National Convention. May be so—we do not think there would be much difference. Northern People are pretty well trained by their old party organizations to submit to Southern domination—and the South when united, either in a National Convention, or in Congress, can generally carry its point. Still, Freedom has at least as much to expect from the action of the House, as from from that of a Convention—and, as things cannot be worse, we have no objection to a change.

Amen, then, to the proposition of the *Southern Press*. Down with National Conventions! Let us have the independent action of the People. Let us have candidates severally representing the Free-Soilers, the Compromisers, and the Disunionists. Away with double-dealing, hypocrisy, political swindling—and let there be a fair and an open fight, for Principles and Measures, clearly defined and boldly asserted.

ANTI-SLAVERY MOVEMENT IN ILLINOIS.

A State Anti-Slavery Convention was held at Granville, Illinois, January 8th and 9th, for the purpose of forming a new Anti-Slavery organization. J. H. Bryant, of Bureau presided, assisted by several Vice Presidents. To test the sense of the meeting, Mr. St. Clair offered the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That we deem it expedient at this time to organize a society which shall take measures forthwith for the spread of our sentiments thoroughly over the State; and that the business committee be instructed to report to this Convention, at its next meeting, a constitution, based on religious, moral, and political principles, against slavery."

This was supported by Messrs. St. Clair, Farnum, Eastman, and others, who held that an organization should be formed on high moral and political grounds. At last, the resolution was adopted unanimously, the whole Convention rising.

The next day (the 9th) was occupied in the formation of the Illinois State Anti-Slavery Society, by the adoption of a Constitution and Declaration of Sentiment, and by the election of officers. James H. Collins was chosen President, Z. Eastman, Corresponding Secretary, L. P. C. Freer, Recording Secretary, Philo Carpenter, Treasurer. Twenty-four Vice Presidents were elected, and an Executive Committee was constituted, composed of the following gentlemen: W. R. Dodge, J. F. Farnsworth, O. H. Hunen, C. V. Dyer, S. Lind, R. Raymond, A. W. Stewart, O. Lunt.

The Constitution adopted is in the usual form. The Declaration of Sentiment, after affirming that Slavery is a crime against the laws of God and man, proceeds to set forth the following political principles:

"1. That slavery is anti-republican, anti-democratic, destructive of all the sacred rights of humanity named in our Declaration of Independence—therefore, the first duty of our citizens, as politicians, is the abolition of slavery.

"2. That anti-slavery is an essential element of Democracy; and no party destitute of this element is worthy of the support of any true patriot.

"3. That no true friends of Liberty, or opponents of Slavery, can remain in political fellowship or vote with either the Whig or Democratic parties, while these parties are in political connection with Slavery, or do not make it the leading object of their organization to abolish it

"4. That the object of this organization is the entire abolition of slavery throughout our land, and the world.

"5. That our efforts are not limited to the restriction of slavery, or its exclusion from Territories now free; we labor for the *abolition* of slavery wherever it exists, by legal power wherever it can be legally reached, and where it cannot thus be legally reached, we would array against it the moral sense of the world.

"6. That slavery, like piracy or robbery, has no *legal* existence in the United States.

"7. That it is derogatory to the character of law, and an imputation, which, as law-abiding and law-loving citizens, we cannot tolerate, by admitting that an institution of this odious, anti-christian, and anti-republican character, can be legalized.

"8. That slavery in the United States has no *constitutional* existence—that our National Constitution is an anti-slavery institution, giving no support or countenance to slavery.

"9. That as we love the Constitution, and would protect it from the contempt of the civilized world, would clothe it with respect and authority, and as we cherish the good name of its founders, we would save it from the odious reputation given to it by its false friends, who represent it to be a slavery-fostering document.

"10. That the basis of the organization of our Government, as laid down in our Declaration of Independence, and also the Preamble, defining the objects of its formation, clearly declare our Constitution to be a liberty-preserving, and therefore cannot be a slavery-supporting instrument.

"11. That, therefore, as the summing up of these conclusions, we have no hesitation in declaring this Constitution to be an anti-slavery Constitution; that in it are many provisions through which slavery can be directly and indirectly reached, and that a faithful administration of the Government on this Constitution would speedily work the abolition of slavery throughout the land.

"12. That an oath to support the Constitution or any other document never implies an obligation to support any immorality it might contain, or any particular provision which might violate its general tenor, public policy, or general object and design; but on the other hand, to regard any such contradictory or immoral provisions as null and void.

"13. That we love the Union, and cherish it as the bond of peace and freedom, and believe that it was formed for the support of liberty, not as the bulwark of slavery—and as the bulwark of freedom and our free institutions alone it is valuable, and should be preserved.

"14. That no slaveholder ought to be elected to office in a free government; and however fraternally inclined we may be, we cannot coöperate with any party which supports for office slaveholders or pro-slavery men, because by such a course our labor would be wasted, and our efforts to abolish slavery would be fruitless.

"15. That this Convention is not restricted in its efforts and sympathies to the emancipation of the slaves, but aims at the creation of righteous government, that will protect the rights of all men, and foster all political reforms for the good of all the people, and the elevation of the human race; therefore we are in favor of "cheap postage for the People," the exemption of the homestead from attachment and sale on execution, for the distribution of the public lands in limited quantities to actual settlers, and all such other measures as are truly for the interest of the common people, consistent with justice, natural rights, and the stability of good society.

It were well for the opponents of Slavery, while forming organizations against it, to avoid everything sectarian, proscriptive, or of doubtful tendency. "No true friend of Liberty or opponent of Slavery," it is asserted, "can remain in political fellowship or vote with either the Whig or Democratic parties," as at present constituted. This cannot be true. We can name many members of this Congress, still Whigs or Democrats, who are true friends of Liberty. They remain in their respective organizations, sustaining what is good in them, protesting and acting against what they deem evil. Some believe that they can act more efficiently and consistently in a *new* organization, or *as individuals*. Very well—let them act out their own convictions. To their own master they stand or fall—and so do such men as Governor Seward and Preston King, who believe that they can do more for Freedom, acting with their old organizations. The anti-slavery movement has always been injured by a sectarian spirit.

We are sorry to see the new association in Illinois adopting sentiments which cannot, in our judgment, be maintained, which can lead to no practical result, and which must prevent many good men from acting with it. For example—"Slavery has no *legal* existence in the United States"—"The Federal Constitution is a pure anti-slavery document"—"An oath to support the Constitution or any other document never imposes an obligation to support any immorality it might contain," &c. A *legal* relation is one which the law allows, creates, or protects. The law in the slave States allows the relation of master and slave, defines it, protects it. It is just as *legal* as the relation of apprenticeship. The great question is—is it *right*? We say, no—it is all wrong, just as many other things are wrong, which human law countenances or supports. The *legality* of a relation is one thing—its *morality*, another. It is *legal*, if it is established by the Law-Making Power of the State, acting under the Constitution which prescribes its extent and limitations. It is *moral*, if in accordance with the "higher law" of the Supreme Lawgiver.

As to the Federal Constitution, it is in its principles, and its main provisions, an anti-slavery document; but it contains one exceptional provision against liberty—that in relation to Fugitives from Service. Beyond all doubt, this provision does authorize the slaveholder to claim his slave, escaping into a free State, and so far, it is against liberty, and in favor of slavery. But the provision is wrong—it involves all the States, to some extent, in the guilt of supporting slavery, making it a matter of national responsibility. The provision, in our judgment, does not impose on the citizen, or upon the representatives of the People in Congress, any specific duty, but it certainly prohibits a State from passing laws to secure freedom to an escaping slave. Conceding all this, we still hold that, were the principles of the Constitution fairly acted upon, were its main provisions faithfully fulfilled, and the intentions of the great majority of its framers fully carried out, slavery would be excluded from every foot of soil within the sole jurisdiction of the Federal Government, and so discouraged and checked as soon to yield to the combined action of natural and moral causes.

Another objectionable sentiment we must protest against. "An oath to support the Constitution or any other document," it is said, "never implies an obligation to support any immorality in it." The statement is objectionable, not so much for what it asserts, as for what it implies. The implication is, that a man may swear in good faith to support the Constitution, with a deliberate intention to disregard certain of its provisions which he deems immoral. We deny it. A man thus swearing, with such an intention, would be guilty of perjury.

If he believe that the Constitution enjoins the commission of any immoralities, he has no right to swear to support it; or if, having sworn to support it, he then should come to the conclusion that any duty it enjoins upon him in the office he holds is essentially immoral, he is bound at once to resign. We do not understand the morality that would find in obedience to God a warrant for bad faith to man.

Having expressed our dissent from some of the sentiments of this Declaration, we take pleasure in avowing our sympathy with the main object of its authors, which is to organize the anti-slavery opinion and feeling of the country for the complete establishment of freedom as its fundamental law; and it gives us no less pleasure to concur with them in their views of the moral aspects of the slavery question.

COLONEL BENTON.

The view which we have taken of Col. Benton's conduct is well known to our readers. He had made an issue with the Democratic party, and with Democratic principles; and in that point of view we have not hesitated to oppose him, and to expose the disorganizing tendency of his conduct. But, while he has raised an issue with the Democratic party, he has raised an issue with the people of his own State. He has taken an appeal from the action of his own State Legislature; that appeal it was the province of the whole people of Missouri to decide. With that appeal we felt loth to meddle, for fear of being considered too forward in interfering in affairs which did not concern us. But now the question is settled. Col. Benton appealed from a majority of the Missouri Legislature to the people of the State of Missouri. The question was fully argued—the issue was fairly made up—and the jury of the vicinage (the people of Missouri) rendered a verdict against Col. Benton, by returning a majority to the Legislature opposed to his reëlection. That majority was divided by other considerations and on other questions; but they were united on the question which Col. Benton made *the prominent one* of the Missouri elections—the question which Col. Benton's friends in the Legislature persisted in making preëminent: they agreed in the verdict rendered by the people at the ballot-box, that Thomas H. Benton was at this time not a fit representative of the State of Missouri in the Senate of the United States.—*Washington Union.*

The *Union*, professing to be the organ of the National Democracy, cannot conceal its satisfaction at the defeat of a man who represents more eminently Democratic Principles than any man of his Party. Not content with this, it misrepresents the late election in Missouri, and the issue decided by it.

Col. Benton did take an appeal from the action of his own State Legislature—that appeal was the great issue in the election—and the People of Missouri rendered a verdict not against, but in favor of, Col. Benton.

The resolves of the Legislature, passed chiefly by Democratic members, contemplated nullification and secession, in certain contingencies. Col. Benton appealed from them to the people, and the result was, the return of an overwhelming majority in the new Legislature against nullification and secession. A majority of his own party sustained *him*, and the whole of the Whig party sustained his appeal. The Whig members voted against him for Senator, not on account of his views and action on the Slavery Question, or of his opposition to Nullification, but on account of his radical Democratic opinions. They voted for Mr. Geyer, because he was a Whig, in favor of the principle of protection, of liberal outlays by the Federal Government for Internal Improvements, and because he was as strongly opposed as Colonel Benton to Nullification and Secession. The "Rottens," as they are styled, who coalesced with them, and secured the election of Geyer, repudiated, not only their professed Democratic Principles, but their Nullification notions. The very coalition then, to which the Colonel fell a victim, practically affirmed the soundness of his position, as against the resolves of the last Legislature. The good sense of the People of Missouri sanctioned his liberal course on the Slavery Question, and his devotion to the Union; but party opposition on general grounds, strengthened by the rancor of a few apostate Democrats, displaced him from the position he had so proudly occupied for thirty years.

BALLOTING FOR A SENATOR FROM OHIO.—Ten ballotings for a Senator from Ohio took place last Thursday in the Ohio Legislature without any choice. The 1st, 7th, and 10th are as follows:

	1st.	7th.	10th.
Payne, (Dem)	40	44	39
Griswold, (Whig)	46	48	42
Giddings, (F. S.)	11	10	10
Blank	5	–	12

THINGS IN NEW HAMPSHIRE.

The Hunker leaders in New Hampshire have hard work to get their affairs properly adjusted. When they put things "to rights," they will not stay "put." Mr. Atwood gives them a great deal of trouble. It seems that the letter of his, published in the *Patriot*, came out too soon—before it was intended—that it was written in haste, while he was tired, cold, and distracted—that it was merely intended to express submission to the laws, not to approve of them, &c. So he says in a third letter, published in the *Manchester Democrat*, dated January 20, in which also he thus defines his position:

"In relation to my letter to Colonel White and others, I had designed to introduce into it some few modifications before its publication, and particularly one in regard to the authority of law. But as it has appeared before the public, *I have only to say that it comprises what are in substance my views on the subject of the extension of slavery, and of the Fugitive Slave law, as one of the acts of the late session of Congress.* In the language of the Legislature of 1849, *I am 'firmly and unalterably opposed to the extension of slavery.'* And I believe we may consistently, in the language of the same Legislature, claim to ourselves, as Democrats, the right to the full and free exercise of our opinions upon this subject, without coercion or proscription therefor from any quarter.'

"*In relation to the Fugitive Slave Law, it seems to me there are some provisions in that law which are extraordinary and oppressvie, and liable to be perverted to the enslavement of free citizens, and that it imposes duties and services upon the people of the free States which they should not be required to perform.* And while I fully recognise that clause of the United States Constitution providing for the return of persons held to service, escaping from one State to another, it seems to me that some of the provisions of the present law are *unnecessary to carry out either the letter or the spirit of that Constitution.*

These views, honestly imbibed and frankly expressed, I have never designed to sacrifice under any consideration, and I believe I never shall.

Both parties are afflicted with a confusion of tongues. The *Independent Democrat* says:

"The Concord Regency has issued an edict that the candidate for Governor, nominated by the Democratic State Convention, shall be thrown overboard on account of his Christian principles. The candidate for Governor nominated by the Whig Convention *bolted*, and absolutely refused to vote for the pro-slavery resolutions passed by the minority of the Convention for revising the Constitution. Hence, part of the Whig party is now willing to enter into a coalition or bargain with the Democratic party to support Governor Dinsmoor for a reëlection. Such Whigs are now sounding his praise, and denouncing their candidate, Mr. Sawyer, and agree that he stands in no better attitude than Mr. Atwood.'

For the National Era.

LETTERS FROM THE CAPITOL.

WASHINGTON, *February* 3, 1851.

DEAR W——: The week past has been one of very little interest or incident in the political or social world of Washington.

In the Senate, California land titles and private land claims have occupied most of the time. Mr. Benton and Mr. Berrien have been extensively heard from on these questions. I always listen with interest to Colonel Benton, not for the reason that I lately heard a lady give, that "he is so delightfully personal in his remarks"—for this, though true of him, and sometimes on a dull day productive of a pleasant, little excitement, is by no means a peculiarity, or a distinction in the Senate. But for his strong, bold, straight-forward way of speaking, the sledge-hammer style of his argument, the merciless cut and thrust of his invective, one can but pay him a sort of fearful homage. His wit is not the harmless phosphorescent light which plays incessantly along the course of elegant and graceful oratory; it is rather like the quick, sharp light which the hoofs of a fierce and powerful horse strike from a flinty path at night.

On Friday morning, there was a brief, but very interesting, discussion on the Amistad claim, in which Chase, Clay, and Hale, took part. Mr Chase spoke as usual, with much clearness and force. He is one of the most manly and truly dignified members of the Senate. He proclaims his peculiar principles, unpopular as they are with a majority of that body, equally without fear and without bravado. He has independence without obstinacy, sincerity without brusqueness, and morality without cant. In the beginning of the debate, Mr. Clay made an attack upon Mr. Hale, giving an extra point to his remarks by pointing his long, rebuking finger at that good-humored Senator. Mr. Hale could not have been advised of this fierce onslaught; yet he defended himself, or rather returned the sudden blow, with a quickness, a boldness, and a severity absolutely startling. He turned the tables at once—"carried the war into Africa"—not by attacking the Colonization scheme, but by charging on the Compromise. Mr. Hale may not always come forth fully prepared to meet his adversaries with some ponderous argument, or some cutting sarcasm, long sharpened and polished for the occasion, but he is always ready to seize at once on whatever weapons lie nearest his strong hand. There is a story of a Saracen chief, who, being suddenly called to battle, while the smith was yet welding his cimetar, caught it from the anvil, and dashed up the mountain side, letting the winds temper it as he rode. So this bold debater snatches in haste the arms of his argument, or wit, and if the winds of the occasion cool and harden the blade, well and good—if not, he sometimes does terrible execution with the hot, untempered steel.

This interesting discussion was brought to an untimely end by the President's calling the New Hampshire Senator to order, though he was only replying to the personal remarks which his distinguished opponent pursued sans rebuke and sans interruption. But Free-Soilers are evidently not among the men whom "the King delighteth to honor."

In the House, the Mint bill has been under discussion. Mr. Chandler of Philadelphia, a speaker who always commands a respectful and pleased attention, has spoken very forcibly against the establishment of a mint in New York. The New York delegation are, as might be supposed, earnestly in favor of it—so we had quite a spicy debate on the question. Were I not conscientiously opposed to puns, I should say that the oratory of some of the speakers was like a weak julep—slightly dashed with an aqueous element, and with more mint than spirit.

On Wednesday, Mr. Julian of Indiana made a noble speech on the Homestead bill. This was a strong, fearless, and eloquent expression of a liberty-loving and philanthropic spirit. It is lying before me now, and I have just been reading some of its finest passages; and, brief and unstudied as it is, it does not seem to me a speech for one day, or for one Congressional session. It seems nerved with the strength of a great purpose, veined with a vital truth, a moral life-blood beating through it warm and generous. It is something that must live and work yet many days.

Social life for the past week has rolled on in the usual routine—receptions, levees, parties—parties, levees, receptions. There are many, alas! who are utterly involved in this fashionable whirlpool—swept away by this hurricane-life. Poor creatures! Yet there is nothing like getting used to such things. I shouldn't wonder if some rather liked it than otherwise—if, like Holmes's Treadmill hero, they should pronounce it "pretty sport," and, even after their release, feel disposed to return, and "*have a round or two, for fun.*"

Mr. Dempster has been giving his "Ballad Entertainments" here to admiring audiences. No one sings more directly to the heart, or can more readily sound its depths of emotion, than this delightful vocalist. His clear, round notes drop into it, one by one, like shining pebbles, till it overflows in tears, or sparkles up and dances in mirth. His humor and pathos are alike irresistible—he gives strong voice to plain, manly thought, and sweet voice to simple, humble loves—he makes the spirit of home life vocal—he is truly a singer for the people, one they do well to honor; for he has faithfully done his part towards bringing about, for their refinement and elevation, an equality in the most refined of all pleasures—the democracy of art.

We have also enjoyed a very great treat in attending Mr. Vandenhoff's "Evenings with Sheridan." We went to these with high expectations, which were more than satisfied. Mr. Vandenhoff is an admirable reader, as well as an actor of fine genius, and a gentleman of most elegant appearance. The readings were every evening preceded by a sketch of the life, and criticisms on the genius, of Sheridan—and this was by no means the least interesting part of the entertainment. These introductions were most happily conceived and brilliantly written. It is surely high praise to say, what all who heard them must acknowledge, that these clever, witty, dashing, yet most appreciating remarks, were a fitting and a pleasing prelude to the incomparable comedies of Sheridan.

Mr. Vandenhoff's personations are very fine—he flings himself body and soul into the characters he represents. I have heard voices of greater compass and variety of tone than his, but I think I never saw a face of such mobility—so instantaneously obedient to every change of thought or feeling. When all is so good, it were difficult to designate a best; but I was especially pleased with his Sir Anthony Absolute, Mrs. Malaprop, Bob Acres, Joseph Surface, Sir Peter Teazle, and Sir Fretful Plagiary. His male characters are better than his female, though Mrs. Candor is done to life, and Lady Treazle is by him better given us than by many to the kirtle born. In the screen-scene, he was indeed admirable—the whole of this incomparably ridiculous *denoument* passed before us more than ever irresistible in its comic *contretemps* and overbearing surprises.

Ah, that screen-scene, how significant and suggestive it seemed to me, seeing it where I then saw it. Thinks I to myself, there is many a political Joseph Surface, who, by the utterance of "noble sentiments," passes for a prodigy of patriotic virtue with our venerable, universal relative, Uncle Samuel, and who flatters and cajoles him until, like poor Sir Peter, he unconsciously becomes a delighted party to his own dishonor. I thought, also, that there was a principle which, in some respects, might stand for the Charles Surface of this political comedy—one generally esteemed a sad scamp—suspected and avoided by the severely moral and the profoundly respectable,

but who may finally throw down the screen and reveal the whole plot, to the total discomfiture of smooth hypocrisy and sentimental rascality.

Rev. James Freeman Clarke has been preaching at the Unitarian Church in this city for some weeks past. He leaves for the West to-day, much to the regret of all those who have been so privileged as to hear him. Mr. Clarke is a true preacher of Christ's gospel in its purity and symplicity—not alone of the peculiar doctrines of his own religious sect. I have never yet heard what could be called a doctrinal sermon from his lips. Though of a decidedly poetical mind, he is practical, earnest, and direct in his teachings, and appeals more to our conscience and reason than to our imagination. He does not soar away out of our sight into the clouds and mists of changing theory and floating speculation; nor set us to soaring (an unnatural exercise for unfeathered flesh and blood, say what they will,) in the rarefied region of transcendental philosophy, through long wearisome stretches of cold, blue air. He rather walks beside us, through the common walks of life, cheering us with his pleasant, inspiring converse. He addresses himself to our every-day wants, and reminds us of our every-day duties; he does not point us to some far-off, possible good—some crown of triumph, on the heights of life which the struggling soul may at last grasp—"some unimagined isle in the far seas," where it may at length find rest; but tells us that the good, the glory, and the repose, lie in our own breasts—in our daily lives—in the faithful discharge of the simplest duties which lie before us—in obedience to the first law of all true beneficent life, the simple law of *love*—in our care to keep bright before earth and heaven that divine link that binds us in our mortality, to God and his eternity.

But this letter is already too long. So adieu.

GRACE GREENWOOD.

THE EUROPEAN WORLD.

The missing steamer—Efforts to find her—The news from France—Excitement in the French Government—The resignation of Changarnier—The causes leading to that event—The people true to the Republic—Louis Napoleon driven to turn Constitutionalist—The plot of M. Yon and members of the Chamber to ruin the President—The unconstitutional arrest of M. Maguire, and consequent arrest of the Cabinet—France rapidly working out the great European problem—The Austrian and Prussian alliance—The future mission of the two leading Powers of Germany—The minor States endeavoring to perpetuate their individuality—The approaching intrigues of the minor Courts to aid the cause of civil liberty.

NEW YORK, *February* 1, 1851.

To the Editor of the National Era:

We are even yet without tidings of the missing steamship. Among all the floating speculations as to her fate, none approaches the question of her loss by fire—her lot, probably, if lost. If not heard from by the next ocean steamer arrival from the Old World, a vessel will doubtless be promptly despatched from this port, charged with the melancholy duty of cruising the ocean in search of news of her. The English naval authorities in that quarter have already sent a cutter from the Halifax station on such an errand.

The last arrival from Liverpool brings very interesting news from France, pregnant, I think, with welcome proof that she is working out an assurance that she is henceforth to remain a republic—sufficient to deter those interested in the perpetuation of monarchy and class privilege elsewhere in Europe, from making serious attempts to intrigue the French out of their civil rights under their laws, as they now stand.

These advices tell of extensive and violent excitement in Paris, among those who form two great branches of the Government—the Legislative and the Executive. This nominally arises from two or three events, which are traceable, all, to causes easily apprehended by the student of the world, as it progresses.

The quarrel of so long standing between the President and General Changarnier has ended in the resignation of the latter, though he was clearly sustained in his position of quasi hostility to Louis Napoleon by a considerable majority of the Assembly. This majority, made up of Legitimists, Orleanists, and Red Republicans, would have induced Changarnier to take measures to thwart Louis Napoleon upon various points, clearly violative of the Constitution. But, either because he is filled with a sincere regard for the Republic, or because he is satisfied that the people (with whom he knows well the army sympathizes, despite the efforts of the Reactionists to debauch it) are bent on defending either wing of the Government that may be struggling to maintain the Constitution intact, until changed in pursuance of its own provisions, while I feel assured that he has given up all thought of backing the Chambers. While I feel assured that such is indeed the patriotic condition of the popular mind of France, I cannot refuse to say of Changarnier, whose career I have watched with undeviating attention, that I have not yet seen the first feature in his administration of the military command of Paris, (which next to the President of the Republic and that of the Chamber is the most important post in France,) leading to even a *suspicion* that he designed infidelity to his trust.

It strikes me that this quarrel had its origin in the original disposition of the President to subvert the existing Government to secure power in his own hands, to thwart which, the "commander in chief" took every step allowable in the range of his duties under the laws and Constitution. The Legitimists and Orleanists of the Chamber, mistaking the firmness and promptness of Changarnier in opposing the treacherous purposes of Louis Napoleon for a readiness to push their hopes of reëstablishing the old order of things in France to a successful termination, and the most violent and irrational of the Reds being always disposed to back any policy promising to keep alive excitement, joined forces to sustain Changarnier as against Louis Napoleon, the success of whose plans would be death to theirs. Finding that they were competent to the defeat of his hopes, they took courage to meet his virtual treachery with schemes as subversive of the Constitution as his own. In this condition of affairs, Louis Napoleon discovered that he was utterly without power outside of that accredited to his office by the Constitution; the people showing no disposition to back him in anything illegal, while his late majority of the Assembly had melted away, on realizing that he was scheming for his own advancement—not to subserve their counter-revolutionary ends. With the quickness of apprehension for which he is proverbial, he appreciated the fact that his hopes of illegal preferment or immunity were dashed, and accordingly suddenly changed his policy. This is evident in the tone of his last reported conversations and official papers, all of which are filled with protestations of devotion to the best interests of France, and a determination to strictly fulfil his duties under the Constitution and laws. In fine, he now elevates the will of the people of France, constitutionally and legally expressed, into its proper position—into that of the ruling and only great interest in the State. He has thus suddenly recovered much of his personal popularity, as might have been expected.

Changarnier, on the other hand, continued in a hostile attitude to him so long, that the Chamber, resting on his great power and influence, had perpetrated illegal and unconstitutional acts of glaring enormity, before he discovered that they were leading him into the repulsion of the late reprehensible position of the President. Finding that to remain the ally of the majority of the Assembly would be to make himself their tool for the subversion of the Government, and that he must fall back on the coöperation of the President with whom he had quarrelled, particularly if (remaining in office) he would cut himself loose from the intrigues of the former, he concluded to get out of his dilemma as best he could, by resigning. Such I believe to be a reliable synopsis of that portion of the events in the political affairs of France for the last three months, in which Changarnier, the brave and resolute, if over proud, has figured as a very important personage.

Nothing daunted by the loss of their ally, (in the resignation of the commander-in-chief,) the Chamber have steadily pursued their hostile measures towards the President, carrying them to a ridiculous extent. Among them I may mention the affair of M. Yon, the police agent. This functionary, evidently a busybody by nature, fancied he had discovered a plot of the President's to procure the murder of Dupin, the presiding officer of the Assembly, and a dozen troublesome opposition leaders, disclosed the budget of twaddle to those parties, who, after keeping the news to themselves until they could prepare matters so as to create a sensation by its promulgation, brought the affair before the Chamber, wherein, on being probed, it turned out to be the veriest mare's nest of balderdash ever invented in the imaginative brain of a common informer. All, except the bitter and unreasonable personal enemies of the President immediately denounced Yon for a fool or a knave, and, as will happen everywhere under similar circumstances, the current of popular opinion at once began to set strongly in favor of Louis Napoleon, because he was evidently falsely accused. M. Dupin and his coöpposition leaders, however, persisted in affecting to believe Yon's story, and therefore refused to accord his dismissal on the demand of the ministry. As popular opinion pronounced that the latter were in the right, throughout this affair, at least, their purpose was accomplished in the resignation of Yon, brought about by the clamor of the newspapers. Dupin has not yet formally accepted Yon's resignation, but he has been forced to accede to Y.'s retirement from active duties. So the ministry have accomplished their purpose of getting him virtually out of office.

The Ministry taking courage from its success in this affair, in which it should have been successful, ventured to trench on the constitutional immunity of the Chamber, in the person of its most distinguished orator, M. Manguin. That individual happens to be a spendthrift, and of course owes various bills around Paris. Upon one of these amounting to about $200 only, the Ministry very recently contrived to have him sued, arrested, and thrown into prison, as a double punishment for his own opposition and that of the majority his eloquence was swaying against the President. When the news of this event reached the Chamber, great excitement of course arose. The opposition leaders harangued in violent and indignant terms against the unconstitutionality of arresting a member of the Assembly for debt. The Minister of Justice defended the course of the law officers, on the ground of the right of the creditor to his money, and the impropriety of the act of running heedlessly in debt on the part of one holding the position of Manguin. His opponent triumphed, however, on the plea, that the representative should not be subject to arrest while attending the sittings of the Chamber. So an order was passed by a majority of three to one, which was equivalent to giving directions for the immediate release of Manguin. The courts obeying this direction, Manguin was set at liberty. The popular mind of Paris, which sided very properly with the President in the police affair, took grounds as decidedly against him in this matter; appreciating the fact that, if it were competent for the Government to procure the arrest of one member of the Chamber for debt, it might as constitutionally have three hundred arrested after the same fashion—which would be the end of everything like independence in the Chamber. The vote in favor of the release of M. Manguin was so overwhelmingly large that the Ministry (which had virtually avowed the act as its own) were forced to resign, seeing no hope of being able too btain the future necessary coöperation of the Chamber.

In the meanwhile, Louis Napoleon, to sustain himself and to spite the Chamber, proclaims that his purpose is only to maintain the Government as it was placed in his hands by the people of France. He talks (now that all hopes of reclaiming the imperial purple by a *coup d'etat* have vanished) as patriotically and law-abiding as a candidate for Congress in Illinois. There never was a more devoted "people's man" than this same *Bonaparte* is just now professing to be.

The truth is, he finds himself foiled in his plans to become an Emperor, by the jealous opposition of those who want a King with "grace-of-God" blood in his veins, while he has himself completely checkmated the intrigues of the latter to use his shoulders for a hobby on which to ride some one of their favorites up the steps of the throne of France. They hold each other at bay, neither being competent to work effectual mischief for the people of France. All this is operating capitally for the great interest of Europe, as it goes to demonstrate the fact that the future destiny of that country is republican, past peradventure. Heretofore, the semi-liberal apologists for the continuance of monarchical institutions over Europe have based their arguments, one and all, on the doctrine that rational republicanism is notoriously an impossibility upon the Continent, and therefore it is the part of wisdom and sound patriotism to seek rather the amelioration of the condition of the masses under the Governments as they now exist. France, your readers will perceive, is rapidly undermining this foundation of all they write and speak on the subject. Those who have honestly held to this view are fast dropping into the ranks of the republican reformers. In five years, not a man will be found ranged on the side of privilege, who fails to find his immediate interest in upholding the right of the few to rule the many. I need hardly assure you that when such is the unanimous sentiment of the classes of the Continent engaged in active business with the people, rather than with the courts and their stipendiaries, military and civil, all Europe, out of Russia, must speedily be successfully revolutionized; for this result suggests itself to every well-informed mind as naturally as the *quad erat demonstrandum* of a problem of Euclid to the understanding of the geometrician.

The advices from Germany by this arrival—that of the Arctic—embrace few and meager facts. Those we have go, however, to satisfy me of the fact that Prussia and Austria, impelled by a common appreciation of the necessary results of the spread of republicanism in their respective dominions, have wisely concluded to plan and scheme no more against each other, but to put shoulder to shoulder, to strive only to strengthen absolutism throughout the confederation.

The Prussian Government, in coming to this purpose, has forsaken even in outward appearance and profession, the cause of a constitutional Germany. She goes over to that of absolutism with arms reversed and knapsack on back. She has performed this signal dereliction, not by stealth, but in the open field, at the head of the largest and most effective army in Europe out of Russia. So, in future, her mission (or I should write—that of her Government) is to aid Russia in keeping down movement, progress, or any inkling of innovation on the part of princes or peoples in the minor States of the Confederation. The latter, seeing in this union of the two great German Powers death in time to their own individuality, are not yet content to offer up their nationality and separate power as the sacrifice for the but too doubtful perpetuation of absolutism. So Bavaria, protesting against the project of Prussia and Austria to create a "dual" executive power (their own) in the new diet, demands that it shall be a "triad," embracing her own of course. Saxony and Hanover are getting ready evidently to claim that their right to have a share in the future sovereignty of Germany is quite equal to to that of Bavaria; while the smaller States protest against either the restoration of the old diet, or the admission of Wirtemberg, Bavaria, Hanover, or Saxony, to share any portion of the contemplated new executive power. They realize the difficulty consequent upon the attempt to serve many masters. So far, the delegates to the congress or council, at Dresden, keep their counsel quite as well as could be expected, when we remember that a severe struggle is going on between the representatives of the greater and minor Powers. I have seen numerous speculations upon what are to be the results of this conference, in none of which can I place confidence. Out of the chaos at present existing there, I can only look for, first, the continual apparent acquiescence of the weaker States in whatever the stronger may dictate; and their intrigues on the part of the former to regain lost position, which are eventually to prove serviceable indeed in indirectly aiding the various people of the German Confederation in obtaining entire civil liberty. That the latter will struggle to that end, now that the German mind is well nigh as entirely free as that of the population of the United States of America, is as certain as that Canute failed to stay the ocean's tide, when bidding it to cease its angry approaches towards his royal feet.

LIBERALIST.

LETTER FROM CINCINNATI.

Indiana Constitutional Convention—Pork Trade of the West—World's Fair.

CINCINNATI, *January* 30, 1851.

To the Editor of the National Era:

The convention now engaged in amending the Constitution of our sister State has at last settled, as far as its action is concerned, the much-debated "negro question." The *first* section provides that no negro or mulatto shall come into the State after the adoption of the Constitution; *passed*, 94 yeas to 40 nays.

The *second* section makes all contracts with them void, and fines all persons employing them not less than $10 nor more than $500; *passed*, 78 yeas to 59 nays.

The *third* section appropriates the fines collected under the last article to the colonization of the negroes now in the State; *passed*, 106 yeas to 33 nays.

The *fifth* section provides that the Legislature shall pass laws necessary to carry out this latter article; *passed*, without the ayes and noes.

The *sixth* section requires the separate submission of this act to the people—"exclusion and colonization of negroes and mulattoes—aye or no;" *passed*, 82 yeas to 54 nays.

These provisions are a fine comment upon the high professions of the Democracy of our day, a party loud on their opposition to monopolies and exclusive privileges, and the peculiar advocates of the rights of the poor, the working-men, the "hard-fisted farmer," and the progressive doctrines, of which we hear so much from their organs.

These provisions are a disgrace to the men who passed them, and more worthy of the dark ages than of the middle of the 19th century. The provision for the colonization of the blacks is in perfect keeping with the rest, and in accordance with the views of Governor Wright, and the colonizationists generally. It is laid down as an axiom, that the two races *cannot* live together in peace—it is contrary to the laws of nature, of social life, to all our prejudices—every kind of disability is heaped upon the unfortunate blacks—and then, out of *compassion to them*, as the only alternative left, we are to thrust them out of the country, whether they like it or not. The only symptom of fairness or justice in these proceedings was the vote to leave this question to the people. Whatever the result of the popular vote may be, as sure as that justice shall finally prevail, every enactment of this kind, however the wrong may for a moment triumph, will in a few years be swept from the statute-books of every State by the advancing civilization and true Democracy and Christianity of the age. We have yet to see whether these provisions of the Indiana Convention shock the feelings or meet with any denunciation from those pious and orthodox clergymen who hailed with so much satisfaction the rejection of Owen and Pettit, and the election of Mr. Bright to the United States Senate, as an evidence of the intelligence and reverence for religion prevailing among the people.

The *pork season* in the West, at most of the principal points for the business, has nearly closed, and we have the results from a number of places sufficient to indicate the extent of the "hog crop" the present winter. In the "Cincinnati Price Current," a table is given showing the numbers packed at upwards of sixty places in Ohio and Indiana, and as far as received, in Kentucky and Tennessee. These figures show a considerable falling off, when compared with the numbers packed last season, which is no more than every one expected. The number of hogs packed by 30 houses in this city and Covington has been 324,529, against 401,755 last session, showing a deficiency of 77,226.

The following recapitulation, made from reliable authority, may be interesting. The number of hogs packed in the season of—

	1850-'51.	1849-'50.
Ohio, exclusive of Cincinnati	64,027	152,990
Indiana	329,549	380,174
Kentucky	205,414	201,000
Cumberland Valley	30,000*	40,000
Cincinnati	325,000	401,735
	953,990	1,175,899
Deduct 10 per cent. for light weight this year—	95,399	
	858,591	

It will thus be seen that the "hog crop" was—

Last season	1,175,899
Present season	858 591
Total deficiency	317,308

The reports for this year, it is true, are not complete, especially from the more distant points, but the greater part of the business (probably nine tenths) is included in the above table, and the returns to come in will not greatly increase the disproportion. The deduction of ten per cent. for *light weight* of the hogs this year is considered a low estimate. When the final reports for this trade in the West are published, I may refer to the matter once more.

Some of our artisans and produce merchants are determined to have our "Queen City" represented at the "World's Fair." Amongst others, Messrs. Schooley & Hough have sent forward a barrel of their hams and shoulders, *via* the Government vessel at New York, of the curing of 1849-'50. They were put up in most beautiful style, covered with canvass, and the barrel, a splendid piece of workmanship, after being packed and covered with canvass, was carefully enclosed in a larger cask, and packed around with kiln-dried chaff prepared for the purpose. If these hams should arrive safely at London, they will no doubt sustain the world-wide reputation our city has acquired in this department of trade.

Yours, P.

* Estimated.

CONGRESS.

THIRTY-FIRST CONGRESS—SECOND SESSION.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 28, 1851.

SENATE.

Mr. Clay presented two memorials from Pennsylvania, asking for a new tariff. Mr. Badger, from the Committee on Naval affairs, reported a bill to enforce discipline and promote good conduct in the naval service of the United States.

Mr. Hale submitted the following resolution, which was agreed to:

Resolved, That the Committee on the District of Columbia be instructed to inquire if any persons or corporations in this District are exercising the powers of issuing bank notes, and whether said notes are made payable in anything else than gold or silver; and if said notes are thus issued, by virtue of what law.

A long debate on the subject of Land Titles in California occupied the principal part of the day.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Mr. Johnson's bill, to grant to every head of a family a homestead of 160 acres out of the public lands, was taken up, and Mr. Brown of Mississippi announced that, at the proper time, he would move a substitute for the bill, so as to provide for the continuance of the existing preëmption laws, and for making the preëmption right of a settler perpetual. He was opposed to any measure that would put it in the power of an improvident man to sell his portion of the public lands to cancel debts previously contracted.

Mr. McClernand moved the previous question on the motion to commit the bill, which induced Mr. Johnson to withdraw that motion. Mr. Vinton then moved to lay the bill upon the table, and the vote stood:

YEAS—Messrs. Ashe, Averett, Bayly, Bocock, Bokee, Booth, Bowie, Breck, Burt, G. A. Caldwell, Joseph P. Caldwell, Cartter, Casey, Clarke, Clingman, Colcock, Daniel, Deberry, Dimmick, Dixon, Duncan, Edmundson, A. Evans, Freedley, Fuller, Gerry, Goodenow, Grinnell, Hamilton, Hammond, Haymond, Henry, Hibbard, Holladay, Houston, Howard, Jos. W. Jackson, Wm. T. Jackson, Robert W. Johnson, Kaufman, Kerr, George G. King, James G. King, James A. King, Levin, Marshall, McKissock, McQueen, Meacham, Meade, Millson, Morton, Nelson, Orr, Outlaw, Parker, Peaslee, Peck, Phelps, Reed, Ross, Sawtelle, Silvester, Richard H. Stanton, Stetson, Strong, Taylor, John B. Thompson, Thurman, Van Dyke, Vinton, Walden, Waldo, Wallace, Wellborn, White, Woodward—78.

NAYS—Messrs. Albertson, Alexander, Allen, Anderson, Bay, Bell, Bennett, Bingham, Briggs, Brisbin, Brooks, Albert G. Brown, Burrows, Butler, E. C. Cabell, Joseph Cable, Calvin, Campbell, Chandler, W. R. W. Cobb, Cole, Conger, Corwin, Crowell, Danner, Dickey, Doty, Dunham, Durkee, Ewing Featherston, Fitch, Gentry, Giddings, Gilbert, Gorman, Gott, Gould, Green, Hall, Harlan, I. G. Harris, T. L. Harris, Hay, Hilliard, Hoagland, Hunter, Inge, Andrew Johnson, Jones, Julian, Leffler, Horace Mann, Job Mann, Matteson, McClernand, McLanahan, R. M. McLane, Finis E. McLean, McMullen, D. F. Miller, Moore, Morris, Newell, Olds, Penn, Pitman, Potter, Powell, Putnam, Reynolds, Risley, Robbins, Robinson, Rockwell, Root, Rose, Sackett, Savage, Spaulding, Sprague, Frederick P. Stanton, Thomas, Underhill, Watkins, Wentworth, Wildrick, Williams, Wright, Young—90.

The bill was then reported to the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union—yeas 121, nays 64.

Mr. Johnson moved to reconsider this vote, stating that he did so for the purpose of obtaining an opportunity to present his views on the subject. The motion to reconsider was entered on the journal.

The Deficiency Bill was then taken up in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union. After action on various amendments, Mr. Strong of Pennsylvania moved to amend the bill by the addition of several sections, providing that duties now collected on imports should be assessed on the value of the articles at the place of export, and raising the duties on iron to 40 per cent., and on woollens 10 per cent. above the present duty.

Pending a question of order, the Committee rose, and the House adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 29, 1851.

SENATE.

Mr. Hale presented petitions for the repeal of the Fugitive Law.

Mr. Rusk reported back from the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads the House bill for the reduction of postage, with amendments. The principal amendments are the following:

The rates are fixed at 3 cents on letters prepaid, 5 cents when not prepaid. The clause in the original bill, providing that the compensation of no postmaster shall be diminished in consequence of the act is substituted by another, providing that the Postmaster General shall be authorized to make what allowance he many deem fit and proper, in cases where the compensation of a postmaster shall be diminished by the passage of the act. All that part of section 2 which allows newspapers to be carried free within thirty miles from the place of publication is struck out. The section that relates to the employment by the Postmaster General of carriers, is omitted. Free exchanges are secured between all pamphlets, periodicals, magazines, newspapers, and publishers are authorized to send bills in their publications free of postage.

The subject of the Land Titles in California was again taken up. A motion was made by Mr Benton, and subsequently modified at the instance of Mr. Soulé, intended to secure the rights of *bona fide* settlers in California against aggression. It proposed that actual possession of a tract of land for twenty years shall be deemed *prima facie* evidence of a complete grant even against the United States.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

The Homestead Bill of Mr. Johnson came up in the regular order of business, on the motion of Mr. Johnson to reconsider the vote by which the bill was referred to the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union. Mr. Julian advocated the passage of the bill on the broad ground of national right. He held it wrong for the Government to make merchandise of the earth; the right to life carried with it the *means* of living, and land was one of them. Besides, the sales of the public lands could no longer constitute a source of revenue, and sound policy dictated their settlement and improvement a true way to make them profitable to the country.

Mr. Johnson obtained the floor, and the subject went over informally another day.

The House resolved itself into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, on the Deficiency bill. The amendment pending was the one offered by Mr. Strong of Pennsylvania, for the establishment of a new tariff. Mr. Jones had objected to this as out of order. The Chairman (Mr. Meade) to-day sustained this point, on the ground that the amendment was not connected with the bill under consideration, and was repugnant to the rules of the House.

Mr. Strong appealed, but the decision of the Chair was sustained—yeas 102, nays 87.

Several other attempts to engraft upon the bill modifications of the tariff were ruled out of order.

The bill was then reported—the House, after agreeing to the various amendments, put it through all its stages, and passed it.

The House again resolved itself into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and took up the bill for the establishment of branch mints in San Francisco and New York. After some time spent in its consideration, the Committee rose, and the House adjourned.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 30, 1851.

SENATE.

A bill was passed, authorizing the postmaster at San Francisco to open the dead letters at that post office, sending all with valuable enclosures to Washington.

Mr. Mason introduced a resolution instructing the Committee on Foreign Relations to inquire into the propriety of paying the Amistad claim, set up by the Spanish Government.

Mr. Chase objecting, it went over.

A resolution was agreed to, calling upon the President for information concerning any correspondence of the Government in regard to the possessory rights of the Hudson Bay Company in Oregon.

The Deficiency bill from the House was taken up, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

The bill respecting land titles in California was taken up. The amendment proposed by Mr. Soule was opposed by Messrs. Gwin, Dawson, and Clay, and supported by Mr. Borland.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Mr. Giddings asked the unanimous consent of the House to enable him to offer a resolution requesting the President of the United States, if consistent with the public interests, to communicate to that body any correspondence which may have taken place between Great Britain and this Government, respecting the imprisonment of British seamen in the ports of the United States.

Objection was made, and therefore the resolution was not offered.

Mr. Burt, from the Committee on Military Affairs, reported back with an amendment the Senate bill for creating a retired list of officers of the army, disabled by active service, by age, wounds, or disease incurred in the service of the United States. After some explanation by Mr. Burt of its provisions, Mr. Giddings spoke in opposition to it. He did not like to see introduced in this country the European system of pensioning certain classes.

Mr. J. A. King of New York moved the previous question, which was seconded.

Mr. Jones moved to lay the bill upon the table. This motion prevailed—yeas 96, nays 89; and a motion to reconsider was also laid upon the table, so that the fate of the bill is sealed.

The House went into Committee of the Whole on the Mint bill.

Mr. Chandler had offered a substitute for the bill, establishing a branch mint and an assayer's office in San Francisco, and authorizing deposites of bullion for coinage at the mints with the assistant treasurer at New York, to be sent to Philadelphia; the assistant treasurer to issue certificates to the depositors, which, together with those of the treasurers of the several mints, shall be receivable in payment of duties to the Government. Mr. Chandler opposed the establishment of a mint at New York, and contended that the capacities of the mint at Philadelphia were equal to the demands of the country.

The Committee rose without coming to any conclusion, and the House adjourned.

FRIDAY JANUARY 31, 1851.

SENATE.

A communicatition from Mr. Wright, last year a delegate from New Mexico, asking the enactment of a law declaring New Mexico one of the United States, was referred to the Committee on Territories.

Mr. Rusk reported a bill granting the right of way for a telegraph from the Mississippi river to the Pacific ocean.

The resolution submitted by Mr. Mason of Virginia, instructing the Committee on Foreign Relations to inquire into the propriety of providing by law for the payment of the claim of the owners of the Amistad, a vessel unlawfully engaged in the slave trade, was taken up, and Mr. Chase addressed the Senate in opposition to it. He said:

In the year 1817 Spain concluded a treaty with the British Government for the suppression of the African slave trade. That suppression was to take complete effect in the year 1820, and the King of Spain issued an ordinance in conformity with the treaty, prohibiting the continuance of the trade after that date, and declaring that all negroes brought into any portion of his dominions, especially referring to the colonies, should immediately become free. In the year 1837, I think, a treaty to provide for the more effectual execution of this original treaty was entered into between Spain and Great Britain, and another ordinance was issued particularly admonishing the authorities of Cuba to take care that the treaty should be executed and its provisions enforced. Under this treaty every negro imported into the island of Cuba or any other Spanish possession after 1820 was free at the time of the importation, and entitled to be protected in his freedom. In the year 1839, some few months after the promulgation of this last ordinance, a slave trader imported into Cuba a cargo of slaves, of which fifty-three were shipped on board the *Amistad* from one port of Cuba to another. These were recently imported negroes, and under the treaty were free. They had been kidnapped in their own land and brought into the island in contempt of the laws of nations, and in manifest contravention of the treaty. Their condition as free persons was not changed in consequence of this importation. They were absolutely free. These persons, as I said before, were shipped on board the *Amistad* for transportation from one port to another within the island. In the course of this transportation the negroes asserted the liberty to which they were entitled by the laws of nature and guarantied by the treaty, and took possession of the vessel, and insisted on being returned to Africa. Instead of that, the Spaniards who claimed them as slaves, but who had now, in their turn, become prisoners, directed the course of the vessel into our own waters. The negroes were ultimately landed in Connecticut. The Spaniards claimed them as property, and this claim became the subject of judicial investigation. The District Court of the United States held, in conformity with the treaty, that the negroes were free, and had committed no offence against the laws of the Union. An appeal was taken from that decision by the National Government, interposing in behalf of Spain, to the Supreme Court of the United States, by which court the decision of the District Court was affirmed, and the freedom of the Africans established. Now, the object of this inquiry is to ascertain whether we will pay out of the national treasury for these persons, originally free—never reduced to servitude—decided by the Supreme Court to be free, and who were afterwards returned to Africa by benevolent individuals who took an interest in their fate. I have deemed it my duty to bring these facts to the notice of the Senate. It is obvious, if this resolution is adopted and reported upon, it will open a very wide field of discussion.

Mr. Hale. The proposition is to take the funds of the nation and make good the loss which these traders have incurred by this illegal and nefarious transaction. It is infinitely worse than it would be for the Government in the first instance to undertake to insure the slave traders, because then we would know what we were doing. But here a call is very quietly made upon the Government of the United States to indemnify these traders. If they were our own citizens, and we carried out the law, they would be hung. And have we such universal philanthropy and benevolence towards slave traders in every other country but our own that we will put our hands into the national treasury and pay them the full price of what they lost, when, if they were our own citizens, every one of them would be hung? If there is to be peace, I can assure you, gentlemen, that it is not to be found by thrusting propositions of this kind upon men whom you think you have utterly killed and buried. It may be, after all, that there is a ground-swell, and that the calm which appears upon the surface is not so indicative of satisfaction as some gentlemen may think. It may be that there is at the bottom a moral sentiment which it is not safe to outrage too far. It may possibly show itself after all; and, sir, I think if there be a single proposition which could rouse to action every latent feeling of dissatisfaction that has ever existed or ever might exist in this country on this subject, it would be the proposition to make the people of the whole United States partakers in a traffic which their own law and public treaties, and the law of Spain, pronounces to be piracy, and indemnify the slave traders for the loss which they have incurred in this illegal traffic. For these reasons, I hope that this proposition will not be even entertained. I hope that those who have heretofore striven, and striven with feeble and unsuccessful efforts, to resist the encroachments that have been constantly making by this power, while they have been borne down and silenced, you must not believe that they are so utterly low that it is impossible to press them a great way further. It is said that when the worm is trodden upon he will rise upon the heel that crushes him; and it may possibly be that that moral sentiment, or that fanaticism, if you choose to call it so, which gentlemen suppose has heretofore raged with some fury and some violence in the country, is not so utterly dead that it may be so entirely disregarded as to force upon it a measure of this character.

Mr. Clay thought it no more than respectful to pass the resolution, as it was one of mere inquiry. But his chief object in rising was to make the remarks on the subject of agitation.

Sir, the honorable Senator tells us that, although these agitators are at the bottom, where I trust in God they will long remain, they may emerge. Never, never, during the lifetime of that Senator, or of any Senator in this body, I believe, at least upon the subject of domestic slavery. We found the Senator the other day voting in a small minority against an inquiry in relation to the suppression of the foreign slave trade. That, and only that, can be the theme of agitation, if it be the desire to prolong agitation. Has not the prediction of the friends of the Compromise measures been fulfilled? Has not peace and tranquillity been brought to the country? There is, to be sure, here and there, in certain localities, a little desperate, hopeless effort made to excite and continue the agitation, but it is dying away like the expiring echoes which proceed from the discharge of a cannon, or any other noise. It is all dying away, and the gentleman will find it utterly impossible again to satisfy this country that such a state of things as was unfortunately exhibited at the last session is desirable, and he will find the people, the whole people, even in his own section of the country, and I believe he will find even a great portion of the party of which he was a leader, ultimately acquiesce in what has been done, and will be prompt to rebuke the renewal of any efforts whatever to revive agitation.

Mr. Hale. The Senator from Kentucky seems to take this occasion to read me a sort of personal lecture on the position which he thinke I now occupy. He thinks I now occupy, and he wishes me to occupy for a good while, a position at the bottom. I do not think that there is anybody in the country better qualified to give advice to those who are at the bottom than the Senator himself. If there is to be a commotion, a ground-swell, I do not know which of us will come up first, which will be found to have the heaviest anchor around the neck—I, with such agitation as I have been guilty of, or others, with such means of quieting it as the friends of the Compromise measures have adopted. But I will venture a prediction now—not claiming to be a prophet; and I speak with great regret. I am going to make my remarks general, and not applicable to anybody in particular, and probably they will not hurt anybody; but, if they did, I should regret it—I make the prediction that he, be he who he may, or come from where he may, who puts himself forward as a candidate for public favor before the people of any State in this Union, and claims their favor upon the ground of being the author or supporter of what is called the great quiescent compromise, will find himself like the man in the Greek fable, when there was a shipwreck, and all seized upon something whereby to save themselves, unfortunately seized the anchor, and went to the bottom with it. I long for that day to come. I long to see the day when there will be some man bold enough to step into the arena and proclaim himself the champion of the compromise, and claim his meed of approbation and commendation from the public sentiment of the country upon the ground of his meritorious services in that campaign.

Mr. Chase. If this were simply a resolution of inquiry, upon a subject not heretofore acted upon, I do not think I should object to it. I do not believe that any subject is to be *tabooed* in discussion. So far as I myself am concerned, I shall never submit to any such decree. I shall discuss what I see fit to discuss, and propose what I see fit to propose for the consideration of the Senate. I may be in a minority—that is a common lot. Some of us must find ourselves in a minority every day and on every question. But standing here as an American Senator, I shall feel it my duty to bring forward such subjects for the consideration of the Senate as seem to me to deserve their consideration. It will remain for the Senate to give them such attention and such action as may be thought fit.

Sir, it has been said that the honorable Senator from New Hampshire, [Mr. Hale,] and those who act with him, in which number I suppose I am included, seek every occasion for renewing agitation on the floor of the Senate. I appeal to the Senate if I have sought any occasion to renew or commence any agitation here. When and in what have I appeared as an agitator on this floor? When the Senator from Kentucky thought fit, last winter, to bring forward his measures of pacification, as he chose to style them, I expressed my opinion upon them as an independent Senator. It was my good fortune to concur with him in some of his views—not in all—not indeed in many. When I agreed with him I voted with him, as I did the other day upon the resolution relating to the slave trade. It gives me pleasure to vote with him and feel myself sustained by the weight of his ability and authority. But, though in comparison with that distinguished Senator I am but a novice in legislation, and make no pretension to information or ability like his, it is frequently my misfortune to differ from him. When it happens to me so to differ, I know of nothing which should prevent me from avowing and defending my own opinions. I acknowledge no restrictions upon freedom of debate, except the obligations of candor and courtesy. If this be agitation, I am an agitator.

Mr. Hale. I move to lay the resolution on the table.

The yeas and nays were ordered on this question.

The question was then taken, with the following result:

YEAS—Messrs. Baldwin, Chase, Hale, Hamlin, Upham, Walker—6.

NAYS—Messrs. Badger, Bell, Benton, Berrien, Borland, Bradbury, Bright, Butler, Clay, Clemens, Davis of Massachusetts, Davis of Mississippi, Dawson, Dayton, Dickinson, Dodge of Wisconsin, Dodge of Iowa, Douglas, Downs, Foote, Gwin, Houston, Hunter, King, Mason, Miller, Morton, Norris, Pearce, Phelps, Pratt, Rhett, Rusk, Shields, Smith, Soule, Spruance, Sturgeon, Turney, Underwood, Whitcomb, Winthrop, Yulee—43.

The resolution was then agreed to.

Mr. Hale submitted a resolution, which lies over, calling upon the President for copies of all correspondence that may have taken place in relation to the Amistad case.

The joint resolution respecting dead letters in California was taken up and passed. The bill relating to private land claims in California occupied the attention of the Senate the remainder of the session.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

The Branch Mint bill was taken up in Committee of the Whole. An amendment, moved by Mr. Cable of Ohio, was adopted, providing that of the aggregate amount of gold coined, one fourth should be one dollar pieces, one fourth quarter eagles, one fourth half eagles, one eighth eagles, and one eighth double eagles.

After some time spent in Committee on the bill, the Committee rose, and the House adjourned.

Saturday and *Monday* no business was done in either House of Congress, in consequence of the sudden death of Mr. Kaufman, a Representative from Texas. Saturday his death was announced, and the usual resolutions were passed; and Monday his funeral took place.

Tuesday, the House was occupied with the consideration of the Mint bill, the success of which seemed doubtful; and the Senate with the interminable subject of Land Titles in California.

☞ We invite the attention of our readers to the advertisement of *AYER'S CHERRY PECTORAL*, in the columns of our paper, as a remedy of the first importance to the community. The certificates published in its favor are not from unknown names, but from eminent and widely celebrated men. Statesmen, Professors, Clergymen, and Physicians, give their strong assurance that this new medicine for the cure of pulmonary disease can be relied on with confidence by the afflicted for relief, and we truly hope its results in our section will sustain their conclusions elsewhere.

☞ *FOWLERS & WELLS, Phrenologists and Publishers*, Clinton Hall, 131 Nassau street, New York. Office of the *Water Cure* and *Phrenological Journals*.

AYER'S CHERRY PECTORAL,

FOR THE CURE OF

COUGHS, COLDS, HOARSENESS, BRONCHITIS, WHOOPING-COUGH, CROUP, ASTHMA, AND CONSUMPTION.

AMONG the numerous discoveries science has made in this generation to facilitate the business of life, increase its enjoyment, and even prolong the term of human existence, none can be named of more real value to mankind than this contribution of chemistry to the healing art. A vast trial of its virtues throughout this broad country has proven beyond a doubt that no medicine or combination of medicines yet known can so surely control and cure the numerous varieties of pulmonary disease which have hitherto swept from our midst thousands and thousands every year. Indeed, there is now abundant reason to believe a remedy has at length been found, which can be relied on to cure the most dangerous affections of the lungs. Our space here will not permit us to publish any proportion of the cures effected by its use, but we would present the following opinions of eminent men, and refer further inquiry to the circular which the agent below named will always be pleased to furnish free, wherein are full particulars and indisputable proof of these facts.

From the President of Amherst College, the celebrated Professor Hitchcock.

JAMES C. AYER—SIR: I have used your *Cherry Pectoral* in my own case of deep-seated bronchitis, and am satisfied, from its chemical constitution, that it is an admirable compound for the relief of laryngial and bronchial difficulties. If my opinion as to its superior character can be of any service, you are at liberty to use it as you think proper.
EDWARD HITCHCOCK, LL. D.

From the widely celebrated Professor Silliman, M. D., LL. D., Professor of Chemistry, Mineralogy, &c., Yale College; Member of the Literary, Historical, Medical, Philosophical, and Scientific Societies of America and Europe.

I deem the Cherry Pectoral an admirable composition from some of the best articles in the materia medica, and a very effective remedy for the class of diseases it is intended to cure.

New Haven, Conn., November 1, 1849.

Major Pattison, President of the South Carolina Senate, states he has used the *Cherry Pectoral* with wonderful success, to cure an inflammation of the lungs.

From one of the first Physicians in Maine.

SACO, ME., *April* 26, 1849.

DEAR SIR: I am now constantly using your *Cherry Pectoral* in my practice, and prefer it to any other medicine for pulmonary complaints. From observation of many severe cases, I am convinced it will cure coughs, colds, and diseases of the lungs, that have put to defiance all other remedies.

I invariably recommend its use in cases of consumption, and consider it much the best remedy known for that disease. Respectfully, yours, I. S. CUSHMAN, M. D.

Dr. J. C. AYER, *Lowell.*

☞ Prepared and sold by James C. Ayer, practical chemist, Lowell, Mass., and sold by the druggists generally throughout the United States and Canada. Feb. 6—3m

WATER POWER FOR SALE OR RENT.

A COMMODIOUS building in New Brighton, Beaver county, Pennsylvania, heretofore used as a woollen factory, 40 by 96 feet, and three stories high, with abundance of water power. The water power is one of the most eligible on Beaver Falls, and the wheels and motive power are new. The whole concern is not surpassed in the advantages it offers for manufacturing.

Some dwelling-houses handsomely situated, and water power and town lots, for sale in the same place; a farm and lots of land in the vicinity; also, a few town lots on the canal, in Allegheny city; and also, 200 acres of land, partially improved, of excellent quality, in Hillsdale county, Michigan. Inquire of A. W. TOWNSEND, Real Estate Agent.

New Brighton, Penn. 1st mo. 24, 1851.—Feb. 6.

LITTELL'S LIVING AGE.

CONTENTS OF No. 352.—Price, twelve and a half cents.

1. Baron Stein.—*Tait's Magazine.*
2. Kerr on the Sugar Cane.—*Spectator.*
3. The Pencil of the Sun.—*Tait's Magazine.*
4. War of the Sicilian Vespers.—*Spectator.*
5. Sketch of Mainwara.—*Athenæum.*
6. The Clans of the Highlands of Scotland.—*Eclectic Review.*
7. The Abbe de St. Pierre.—*Gentleman's Magazine.*
8. My Novel; or Varieties in English Life; Book III.—*Blackwood's Magazine.*
9. Snakes and Serpent Charmers.—*Bentley's Miscellany.*
10. An Evening with Voltaire.—*Gentleman's Magazine.*
11. Ballads.—*Ib.*

With Poetry and Short Articles.

WASHINGTON, *December* 27, 1845.

Of all the Periodical Journals devoted to literature and science, which abound in Europe and in this country, this has appeared to me to be the most useful. It contains indeed the exposition only of the current literature of the English language; but this, by its immense extent and comprehension, includes a portraiture of the human mind in the utmost expansion of the present age.

J. Q. ADAMS.

Published weekly, at six dollars a year, by
E. LITTELL & CO.,
Corner of Tremont and Bromfield streets, Boston.

☞ For sale by JOSEPH SHILLINGTON, corner of Four-and-a-half street and Pennsylvania avenue, Washington.

CALIFORNIA PASSENGER OFFICE,

No. 179 Broadway, New York.

THE United States mail steamers leave New York on the 11th and 26th of every month; through in 35 days. Circulars containing important information sent *gratis* to order. Everybody is invited to send for one.

Address, postage paid,
Feb. 6—8t ARNOLD BUFFUM & CO.

MEDICAL LECTURES.

THE Spring Session of the Physo-Medical College, Cincinnati, Ohio, will commence on the first Monday in March, 1851, and continue twelve weeks. Lectures to be given at Centre Hall, corner of Fifth street and Western Row.

The course of instruction will embrace Chemistry, Botany, Materia Medica, Therapeutics, Anatomy, Surgery, Obstetrics, and Theory and Practice.

Tickets to the full course, $24; matriculation, $3; and graduation, $20. JOSEPH BROWN,
Jan. 16—6t Dean of the Faculty.

SASH AND BLIND MACHINE,

Patented by Jesse Leavens, of Springfield, Mass.

THIS is the best Sash and Blind Machine now in use. The machines cost $300 each at the shop where they are made, near Springfield. Extra charge for the right of using. The machine does all to the window sash and blinds except putting them together.

Orders from abroad will be promptly attended to, by addressing JESSE LEAVENS,
Jan. 9—3t Palmer Depot, Massachusetts.

CAHILL TOLMAN,

COMMISSION Merchant and Manufacturers' Agent for the sale of every description of *PLAIN AND PAINTED WOODEN WARE.* Particular attention given to shipping goods promptly, at the lowest rates, to any part of the country. Orders solicited.

No. 5 Canal and No. 12 Merrimac streets, Boston, Massachusetts. Jan. 16—6m

THE FRIEND OF YOUTH.

THIS new and attractive journal for Youth, edited by Mrs. Bailey, and published at Washington, can be had at the *Boston Agency for the National Era*, 3 Cornhill. Price, by mail, 50 cents a year; delivered in Boston, free of postage, 75 cents. GEORGE W. LIGHT,
Nov. 25. 3 Cornhill, Boston.

J. H. HAVENS, BROTHER, & CO.,

Inventors and Manufacturers of the Ethiopian and Fire-Proof Paint, Wilmington, Clinton Co., Ohio.

W. MYERS,

No. 319 Main street, near Eighth, Cincinnati, Ohio, Sole Agent for the United States, to whom all orders must be addressed.

THE superiority of this Paint over all other, for carriage, house, and ship painting, will be seen in its rapid sale. It is not over four months since this paint has been introduced into market, and our agent has been able to order one hundred tons. This paint is ground in oil and put up ready for use, from the finest black, down to any shade to suit the fancy.

Also, inventors and manufacturers of *Tanners' Blacking*. This article is so universally approbated by all who have used it, that it scarcely needs commendation. But, to give confidence to those who may not have tried it, we would say that Z. C. Ryon, foreman to A. M. Taylor & Co., Columbia street, Cincinnati, has authorised us to use his name as a recommendation to tanners in general. To all who know Mr. Z. C. Ryon, this would be sufficient; but all tanners in the city and country, who have used it, have granted us this privilege. If it were necessary, we could fill a newspaper with testimonials; but, where all who use are pleased, we deem it uncalled for.

The Tanners' Blacking is put up in kegs containing six gallons, ready for use, and will be sent to any point on the canal, railroad, or river, at 50 cents per gallon.

All orders should be addressed, post paid, to
HAVENS & CARROL,
Wilmington, Clinton county, Ohio, or
J. H. HAVENS, Cincinnati.

Also, inventors and manufacturers of a *Water-Proof Blacking for Oil Cloth*, that will reduce the cost 50 per cent., and will soon be in market. Nov. 28—tf

PHILADELPHIA TYPE AND STEREOTYPE FOUNDRY.

THE subscriber would call the attention of printers to the greatly reduced prices of the present list. They now offer—

Pica at	30 cents.	Minion	48 cents.
Small Pica	32	Nonpareil	58
Long Primer	34	Agate	72
Bourgeois	37	Pearl	108
Brevier	42	Diamond	160

Determined to spare no expense in making their establishment as perfect as possible, they have recently got up a complete set of the justly celebrated *Scotch-cut Letter*, from Diamond to English, to which they particularly invite attention.

Having lately made numerous additions to their stock of *Fancy Types, Borders, Ornaments, &c.*, their assortment is now unrivalled in the United States; and their improved methods of casting, and of preparing metal, enable them to furnish orders in a manner to insure satisfaction.

Printing Presses, Cases, Stands, Chases, Galleys, Printing Ink, and every article used in a printing office, constantly on hand, at the lowest rates.

Second-hand Presses, and Type used only in stereotyping, at reduced prices.

Books, Pamphlets, Music, Labels, &c. &c., stereotyped with correctness and despatch.

N. B. Specimen Books will be sent to printers who wish to make orders. L. JOHNSON & CO.,
Jan. 2. No. 6 Sansom street.

COMMISSION STORE.

WM. GUNNISON, *General Commission Merchant*, 101 *Bowly's Wharf, Baltimore, Md.* Dec. 22.—1y

BALTIMORE AND WASHINGTON RAILROAD.

Hours of Departure of the Passenger Trains.

FROM Washington at 6 A. M. and 5 P. M. daily, and 9 A. M. daily, except Sunday.

From Baltimore at 6 A. M. and 5 P. M. daily, and 9 A. M. daily, except Sunday. T. H. PARSONS,
Jan. 9. Agent.

THE FRIEND OF YOUTH—Vol. II, 1851.

A MONTHLY NEWSPAPER.

MRS. MARGARET L. BAILEY, EDITOR.

The Friend of Youth will be issued on the first month, in quarto form, 8 pages, on fine paper, in neat, new type, and with tasteful embellishments.

Our object is to make the paper an attractive companion for Youth. While we please, we shall also aim to form their tastes. In addition to agreeable Stories, Lessons on Natural History, Descriptions of Natural Scenery, Sketches of Travel, and Notices of New Books for children, we shall converse with them, in language adapted to their comprehension, about the important events of the present era. We know this is not usually done in such publications, but we think we do not mistake the taste or capacity of young people, when we suppose them to feel some interest in the world they live in, beyond the nursery, the school-room, and the play-ground. It shall also be our care to interest them on all great subjects connected with the well-being of mankind. Freedom, Peace, and Temperance, shall receive our earnest advocacy. Teaching our readers to sympathize with the oppressed, and weep with the suffering, we hope to awaken in them a generous abhorrence of all wrong, and an earnest love and reverence for all that is just and pure; and, while thus inculcating the lessons of love to man, we cannot forget the supreme obligations due to the great Father and Benefactor of all.

To secure variety of entertainment, we have engaged, as regular contributors to our columns, several well-known and distinguished writers, peculiarly qualified to minister to the wants of Youth.

The first number of the 2d volume will be issued on the first of November, ensuing.

The terms are—fifty cents a year for a single copy; five copies for two dollars; or, every person forwarding us four names, with two dollars, shall be entitled to one copy gratis.

It is desirable that the names of subscribers be sent in with as little delay as possible. All communications must be addressed to—

MRS. M. L. BAILEY, *Washington, D. C.*

Washington, D. C., October 15, 1850.

P. S. Postmasters are entitled to ten cents on every new subscriber they may forward—a small compensation for their trouble, but as large as the price of our paper will admit. We are always indebted to their courtesy, and hope to be laid under still greater obligations. M. L. B.

Terms.—Single subscribers, 50 cents; five copies, $2; ten copies, $3.50; fifteen copies, $5.

PROSPECTUS OF THE NATIONAL ERA.

VOLUME V.—1851.

WASHINGTON, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

G. BAILEY, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR; JOHN G. WHITTIER, CORRESPONDING EDITOR.

THE NATIONAL ERA is an Anti-Slavery, Political, and Literary Newspaper.

A brief summary of the principles and measures we are prepared at all proper times to maintain, will serve to show the character and course of the *Era*.

We hold—

That Slavery is repugnant to Natural Right, the Law of Christianity, the Spirit of the Age, and the essential nature of our Republican Institutions:

That Emancipation, without compulsory expatriation, is a high duty, demanded alike by Justice and Expediency:

That there is but one safe and effectual mode of abolishing Slavery; and that is by law, to be enacted by the States in which it exists:

That Slavery can have no lawful being in Territory under the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States:

That Congress is bound to exclude it from all Territory now belonging or that may hereafter belong to the United States:

That the American Union, as the bond of Peace, the organ of one Language and one Civilization, the medium of Free Trade, among the numerous States and Territories stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific shores of this Continent; as the Refuge of suffering millions from the Old World, and a Safeguard against its Ambition and Intrigue, is of priceless value to the Cause of Human Progress; and that there is enough intelligence and virtue in its members to extinguish Slavery, the single cause that disturbs its harmonies, impairs its energies, alloys its benefits, and threatens its stability:

That the Federal Constitution ought to be so amended as to place the election of President in the hands of the People, directly, and to limit his term of office to four years, making him thereafter ineligible; and to be still further amended so as to give to the People of the several States the election of their United States Senators, changing the term of office from six to four years:

That the Post Office Department ought to be separated from the Chief Executive, the Postmaster General and all the local Postmasters being elective by the People, and the power of removal for just and sufficient cause lodged in the hands of the Postmaster General:

That postage on all newspapers, of a certain size, for all distances, should be one cent; on all letters, under half an ounce, for all distances, two cents prepaid; that the franking privilege should be abolished; and negotiations be instituted for the purpose of securing free exchanges within reasonable limits, between the newspapers of Europe and the United States, and a reduction to the lowest point possible in the postage on letters passing between foreign countries and our own:

That the public lands should be held as a trust for the benefit of the People of the United States, to be granted in limited quantities to actual settlers who are landless:

That the homestead ought to be exempt from sale or execution for debt:

That restrictions on commerce among the several States, and between all nations, ought to be removed:

That Congress ought to make due appropriations for improvements demanded by the interests of commerce with foreign nations, or among the States, provided they be not purely local in their benefits, and be not proper subjects for State or individual enterprise.

In maintaining our views, we shall fearlessly use the rights, while we respect the courtesies, of Free Discussion, conceding to those who may differ from us, what we claim for ourselves, the credit of honest motives.

Such reports of the proceedings of Congress will be given as will convey a correct idea not only of its action, but of its spirit and policy.

The FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE of the *Era* is at least equal in value and interest to that of any Journal in the country.

The LITERARY MISCELLANY of the *Era* is amply provided for. JOHN G. WHITTIER, the Poet, will continue Corresponding Editor. By an arrangement with that popular writer, GRACE GREENWOOD, her services have been secured for the *Era exclusively*, beginning on the first of January next. Mrs. EMMA D. E. N. SOUTHWORTH, the American Novelist, who first became known to the public through the columns of our paper, has engaged to furnish a story for our new volume.

Among other contributors we may name Dr. WILLIAM ELDER, the Hon. HENRY B. STANTON, MARTHA RUSSELL, MARY IRVING, ALICE and PHŒBE CAREY, and Mrs. H. B. STOWE—names familiar and attractive.

Having thus made ample arrangements for the General Departments of the Paper, we shall devote ourselves more particularly to Anti-Slavery and Political Discussions, taking care to keep our readers advised of all important reform movements and current events.

Terms—two dollars per annum, *always payable in advance.*

Every subscriber renewing his subscription, and sending us two NEW subscribers, shall have the three copies for five dollars. Clubs: five copies for eight dollars; ten copies for fifteen dollars.

All communications, on business of the *Era* or for publication, should be addressed to

GAMALIEL BAILEY.

P. S. The volume always begins on the first of January.

WASHINGTON D. C., *November* 28, 1850.

BENNETT'S NATIONAL SKY-LIGHT GALLERY,

PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE,

One door east of Z. D. Gilman's Drug Store.

EXHIBITION FREE.

TO meet the increasing patronage of this establishment, the Sitting and Exhibition Rooms have been enlarged, and fitted up in a style second to none in this country.

It was necessary, also, to have more assistance in the operating department; and I have therefore associated with me Mr. F. M. Cory, from New York, which will enable us to maintain the present popularity of this Gallery.

Some valuable additions to the collection of specimens have been recently made, among which we will mention that of *JENNY LIND*, taken from life; one of *AMIN BEY*, Turkish Envoy; and one, from a Daguerreotype taken in Rome, of Powers's statue of *JOHN C. CALHOUN*.

The collection of the United States Senate intended for exhibition at the World's Fair, to be held in London in May next, will be complete in a few days, a part of which may be seen at this time.

Having a superior Sky-Light, and one of the best German Cameras, capable of taking portraits twelve times the usual size, and twice the size of any in his city, together with a constant and successful practice for the last twelve years, we feel confident in being able to furnish Daguerreotypes to those who may want them, which, for beauty of tone, clearness of impression, life like expression, grace and ease of position, cannot be surpassed.

By a new and improved process practiced at this establishment, we are enabled to take pictures in the short space of one second, enabling parents to supply themselves with perfect Daguerreotypes of their little ones, of all ages.

☞ Miniatures neatly set in lockets, breastpins, finger rings, and settings furnished, if desired.

N. S. BENNETT.
Jan. 2. F. M. CORY.

HENRY H. PAXTON,

ATTORNEY and Counsellor at Law, and Solicitor in Chancery, Cadiz, Harrison county, Ohio. Jan. 9.

NEW YORK TAILORING ESTABLISHMENT,

BRANCH OF W. T. JENNINGS & CO., NEW YORK

Pennsylvania avenue, near Sixth street, Washington.

THE subscriber still continues to conduct the branch of the above establishment, where he has on hand a large assortment of *Cloths, Cassimeres, and Vestings*, which will be made up at the same prices and in the same style as New York.

Also on hand, a large stock of *Overcoats, Sack, Frock, and Dress Coats, Pants and Vests*, and every article necessary for a gentleman's wardrobe, that in every emergency gentlemen may be fitted with a fashionable suit without delay. Jan. 2. WALTER HOWE.

WASHINGTON AND ALEXANDRIA BOAT.

THE steamboat *THOMAS COLLYER* will depart at the following hours; a coach connects with the boat in Washington.

Leaves Alexandria at 8, half past 9, and half past 11 A. M., and at 2 and 4 P. M.

Leaves Washington at a quarter before 9 and a quarter past 10 P. M., and at half past 12, a quarter past 3, and a quarter past 4 P. M.

The *Thomas Collyer* will be on the Mount Vernon route next week. JOB CORSON,
Jan. 9. Captain.

THE NATIONAL ERA.

SPEECH OF WILLIAM H. SEWARD, ON THE CLAIMS OF AMERICAN MERCHANTS FOR INDEMNITIES FOR FRENCH SPOLIATIONS.

Delivered in the Senate of the United States, Jan. 21, 1851.

[CONCLUDED.]

Thirdly. *It is said that the evidences of the claims and of title must necessarily be loose and inconclusive.*

However this may be, the fault does not rest with the claimants, while the loss will fall upon them. Moreover, they must produce legal evidence. The United States can justly ask no more.

Fourthly. *It is denied that the United States exchanged a release of the claims for a release of the ancient treaties.*

We have seen that in form at least the treaty of 1800 was such an exchange of those equivalents. It was understood to be such an exchange, in effect, when made. Robert R. Livingston said:

"It will be well recollected by the distinguished characters who had the management of the negotiation, that the payment for illegal captures, with damages and indemnities, was demanded on the one side, and the renewal of the treaties of 1778 on the other; that they are considered as of *equivalent value*, and that they only formed the subject of the second article."—*Letter to Talleyrand, April* 17, 1802.

Napoleon, at St. Helena, declared, "That the suppression of the second article at once put an end to the privileges which France had possessed by the treaties of 1778, and annulled the just claims which America might have had for injuries done in time of peace."—*Conversation with Gourgand.*

Notwithstanding these and similar contemporaneous expositions, it has been insisted here by two of my very eminent predecessors, Mr. Wright and Mr. Dix, as well as by others, that this confessed form of the treaty was a mere diplomatic artifice; that in fact it was not an exchange of equivalents; and that the claims for spoliations were renounced because they could not be enforced, and not for an adequate and admitted consideration. Sir, did Oliver Ellsworth and his colleagues combine to practice a diplomatic fraud upon France? Certainly not. Were they then circumvented? If we should grant that they were, there would yet remain John Adams, President in 1800, and Thomas Jefferson, President in 1801, and the Senate of those years, all equally compromitted. Who will impeach their intelligence or their directness? Sir, upon whom shall we rely to vindicate our own less deserved and ephemeral fame, if we strike so rudely the monuments where these great names lie sleeping.

If the United States can plead fraud in this or in any other case, how shall creditors or allies, individuals or States, learn to distinguish between obligations which we admit to be valid and those which we claim a right to repudiate?

No, sir; we cannot raise such a defence. Nor could it be maintained. No one questions the sincerity of the United States in prosecuting these claims. France was equally sincere in admitting them and in preferring her own. Even in her piratical decrees, she pleaded an overpowering pressure, and promised reparation:

"Being informed that some French privateers have taken vessels belonging to the United States of America, I hasten to engage you to take the most speedy and efficacious means to put a stop to this robbery."—*Mongé, Minister of Marine, to the Ordonnateurs of France, March* 30, 1793.

Thus France was ingenuous even in her agony of social convulsion.

"Although it [the treaty of 1778] is reciprocal upon the whole, some provisions are more specially applicable to the fixed position of the United States, and others have allusion only to the eventual position of France. The latter has stipulated few advantages, advantages which do not in any respect injure the United States, and the lawfulness of which no foreign nation can contest. *The French nation will never renounce them.*"—*M. Talleyrand to Mr. Gerry, Jan.* 18, 1798.

The Convention of 1800 was then, in fact as well as in form, a treaty of equivalents.

Can the United States impeach it now, on the ground of the *inadequacy* of the equivalent received? Certainly not, sir. It is too late; the parties are changed. The merchants' claims are just the same, whether you received an adequate equivalent, or exchanged their demands for an insufficient consideration.

Nevertheless, let us pursue the objection. You say that however intrinsically just the claims may have been, they were renounced because you could not collect them without resort to war. I reply, a just claim against a civilized State is never valueless. If the State refuses to be just to-day, it may become more just to-morrow. It is true that the United States were not bound to declare war for the claims, but it is equally true that they had no right to confiscate them without indemnity.

Thus we have reached one of the main defences against these claims, viz:

Fifthly. *That the ancient treaties had become void as against the United States, and therefore the release of them by France in 1800 was valueless.*

This argument involves two propositions:

1. That France *fragrantly violated* those compacts.

2. That the United States *perfectly fulfilled* them.

1. That France flagrantly violated those compacts. The chief object of the treaties of 1778 was the establishment of the liberty, sovereignty, and independence of the United States, in the war of the Revolution, and forever afterwards. France fulfilled her guarantee in the Revolution. But the merit of that fulfilment is denied. It was said by one of my predecessors, (Mr. DIX,) that France was not moved by generosity or sympathy in entering into the treaties, or in fulfilling them. Sir, a nation whose pride can condescend so far as to receive benefits, vindicates itself fully by the exercise of unquestioning and enduring gratitude.

Sir, interest and ambition do indeed too often mingle with the purest and highest of human motives, not less of States than of individuals. But the character of motives must be determined by the character of the actions in which they result. Sir, in the strait of the Revolution, your agents applied for aid, not to the King of France only, but also to the Emperor of Germany, to the Kings of Spain and Prussia, and to the Grand Duke of Tuscany. From neither of them could they gain so much as a protest to discountenance the hire of mercenaries by the German Princes to the King of Great Britain, to be employed with savage Indian tribes against us. But France yielded money, volunteers, recognition, and armed alliance. Was there no merit in that?

It is true that in our oppressor France found a rival to humble and overthrow. But had Britain no other rival or enemy than France? If there were others, why did we not win them to our side? France did indeed exact a guarantee from the United States in exchange for her own. But did we find any other Power willing to enter into such an exchange? Moreover, France conceded to us all of the conquests which should be made by the allied armies in the war of the Revolution, except such as would have been useless to us, and even including the Canadas, of which we had so recently assisted to deprive her, and she insisted on no remuneration after the war should end. Was there no magnanimity in that?

France was not actuated chiefly by ambition or revenge in making the engagements of 1778. The People and even the Court were filled with enthusiastic admiration of the United States and of their cause. Fenelon had already educated even Royalty in that cause, in the palace and under the eye of the Grand Monarque. The court, the army, the navy, the rulers and the people of France, had no standard of a hero but Washington, no model of a philosopher but Franklin, nor of a State but the United States. Seventeen years ago I traversed the now deserted and desolate chambers of the Bourbons of France. Never shall I forget the gratified pride I felt when I found among the family pictures of the House of Orleans one which commemmorated the visit of Franklin to the Palais Royale, and among the illustrations of the national glory at Versailles, one that celebrated the surrender of Cornwallis. The failure of Louis XVI as a King resulted from his attempting, like Nerva in ancient Rome, and Pio Nono in modern Rome, to combine the two incompatible things, the enlargement of popular freedom with the maintenance of regal power. Nor may we undervalue the aid received from France. It decided the contest. It cost her more than three hundred millions of dollars, and hurried her into a Revolution more exhausting than any other State, in the tide of times, has endured.

Thus it appears that France fulfilled faithfully and completely her chief engagements in the treaties of 1778, while it is admitted that she failed afterwards in less essential obligations, but with protestations of adherence and promises of reparation.

2. Did the United States *completely and absolutely fulfil* their reciprocal obligations? When the war of 1793 broke out, France held all the possessions in America which they had guarantied to her forever, and they were all exposed. Yet the United States never defended nor attempted to defend them; never devoted a life nor even a dollar to that end. Thus, instead of standing on fulfilment, we are at once brought to the necessity of justifying a non-performance of the engagements. The justification has been placed on several grounds, viz:

1. That France did not demand fulfilment.

Such an inference is warranted by some of the papers before us, but there are others which leave the fact very doubtful:

"I beg you to lay before the President of the United States, as soon as possible, the decree and the enclosed note, and to obtain from him the Cabinet decision, either as to the guaranty that I have claimed the fulfilment of for our colonies, &c."—*E. C. Genet's Letter of Nov.* 14, 1793.

But if France did not demand the performance of the guaranty in the war, she insisted on its obligation. The United States practically *disavowed* and renounced it. The proposition is self-evident. The treaty stipulated *Alliance*, when France should demand it. The United States assumed *Neutrality* in every event.

2. The non-performance by the United States has been justified on the ground that the *casus fœderis* of the stipulated guaranty was a defensive war, and that the war of 1793 was not of that character.

In reply to this argument, I observe, in the first place, that the *terms* of the Treaty of Alliance stipulated for the execution of the guaranty in the case of "war to *break out*:" Any war, offensive or defensive. But the Senator from Virginia [Mr. HUNTER] overpowers us with an argument which with me is irresistible. He says that *only* a *defensive* war must have been contemplated, because a stipulation for aid and alliance in an aggressive war would be immoral, unjust, and therefore void. Sir, I acknowledge that higher law of universal and eternal justice. And I admit that all laws of States, and all treaties and compacts between States, which contravene its sacred provisions, are utterly void and of no effect. I accept therefore the Senator's definition of the *casus fœderis;* that it was a defensive war. I controvert, and I rest my cause upon controverting, his assumption, that the war of 1793, between the Allied Powers and France, was on her part an aggressive and not a defensive war.

The very proclamation of neutrality implies a denial of that assumption. The war therein described is a war "between Austria, Prussia, Sardinia, Great Britain, and the United Netherlands, of the one part, and France, on the other." Why was the aggressor the last party to be named? But History has determined the character of the parties in that momentous contest.

"The first war of the French Revolution," says Wheaton in his History of the Law of Nations, "originated in the application by the Allied Powers of the principle of armed intervention to the internal affairs of France, for the purpose of checking the progress of her revolutionary principles and the extension of her military power." War was declared, indeed, by France, but only as a reply to the ultimatum of a Restoration of Despotism tendered by the Armed League of Enemies.

Thus, sir, we have arrived at the true ground of defence of the neutrality of 1793, to wit: that performance of the treaty was impossible.

Sir, in a *practical sense*, performance was impossible. First, on account of the condition of France. The parties in 1778 of course expected that France would remain an organized State, capable of conducting combined operations under the treaty, upon a method and towards an end, without danger from herself to her ally. But it was not so with France. She became not merely revolutionary, but disorganized, having no certain and permanent head, no stable and effective legislature. All the organs of the State were shattered, broken, and scattered. "*Nec color imperii, nec frons erat ulla Senatus.*"

The King, after unavailing changes of ministry, convened the Assembly of the Notables; after holding the bed of justice, and after attempting to establish the new plenary courts, he called the States General, which soon became a Constituent Assembly, absorbing all the functions of government. Suddenly the People of Paris rose, and brought the King, Queen, and Assembly into captivity. A constitutional monarchy rose under the dictation of the People; but the King was degraded, condemned, and executed, and a Republic appeared. The Republic went down before the power of cabals, which rapidly succeeded each other, all sustaining their administrations, throughout a reign of terror, by the tribunal of blood. These unnatural convulsions could have but one end—the restoration of the State by a Dictator. That magistrate, in 1800, appeared in the person of Napoleon. When and where, before that event, could the United States have been required to go to the aid of France? It was well that France had regained her liberty; but her ally had a right, before going into a war with her against Europe, to see that liberty combined with government and with public force—with national morality, with social order, and with civil manners. All this was wisely deemed by Washington necessary to secure the United States against absolute danger, and to render their alliance at all useful to France. For, on what side were the United States to array themselves? With the King, while he yet held the reins of state, or with the National Assembly while abolishing the Monarchy? With the ephemeral Directories, which governed France through the guillotine, or with the Counter-Revolutionists, struggling to restore internal peace and repose? Well did Mr. Jefferson say, that if the United States had panted for war as much as ancient Rome—if their armies had been as effective as those of Prussia—if their coffers had been full and their debts obliterated—even then, peace was too precious to be put at hazard, in an enterprise with an ally thus deranged and disorganized.

And what was the condition of the United States, that they should peril all in the domestic rage of France, and her foreign strife? Mr. Jefferson was no false interpreter, and he thus described it. "An infant country, deep in debt, necessitated to borrow in Europe—without a land or naval force—without a competency of arms and ammunition—with a commerce connected beyond the Atlantic—with the certainty of enhancing the price of foreign productions, and of diminishing that of our own—with a Constitution little more than four years old, in a state of probation, and not exempt from foes." No greater calamity than war could then have fallen upon the United States, nor could war, in any other case, ever come in a form so fearful. It was not a fault of Washington, as it was of Cato, not to see that public affairs were incapable of perfection, and that States could not be governed without submitting lesser interests to greater. On the contrary, the measure of his duty was that of Cicero in the consulship—to take care that the Republic should suffer no detriment. Well and wisely did he perform that duty. He could not aid France, but he saved his own country. Forever, then, let the justice and the wisdom of Washington, in that memorable crisis, stand vindicated and established.

But what does all this prove? Just this, and no more: That circumstances, affecting France and the United States equally, unforeseen and imperious, prevented the United States from even undertaking to perform their compact with France, in the way stipulated in a particular emergency. But the circumstances creating this impossibility were not alone the fault or misfortune of France, but arose in part out of their own condition; and the omission to perform it assured the safety and promoted the welfare of the United States. Under such circumstances, the United States owed to France, if not indemnities for past non-performance, at least recognition and renewal of the ancient treaties. If, then, France was held by the treaties, because the United States excused their non-performance, they were equally bound to extenuate her deviations, under such a pressure, from prudence, order, and even from justice, if she were willing to make reparation. None knew so well as they, that France broke the treaties in less essential obligations, not from want of virtue to be faithful, but from want of magistracy to enforce fidelity. But while France was always willing to make reparation, the United States insisted on being absolutely free from obligations. Jay's treaty was confessedly injurious to France. Either that treaty was necessary to the United States, or it was unnecessary. If it was unnecessary, the complaints of France were just. If necessary, then she was entitled to equivalents. A release from the engagements in the ancient treaties was necessary to the United States, or it was not. If it was not necessary, then the United States ought not to have bartered the merchants' claims away for it. If it was necessary, then the United States received an adequate equivalent.

Thus it appears that the ancient treaties had not lost their obligation against the United States by reason of any flagrant violation of them by France.

Sixthly. *The opponents of this bill next insist that the treaties had been abrogated by an act of Congress which passed on the 7th day of July,* 1798, *viz:*

"Whereas the treaties concluded between the United States and France have been repeatedly violated on the part of the French Government, and the just claims of the United States for reparation of the injuries so committed have been refused, and their attempts to negotiate an amicable adjustment of all complaints between the two nations have been repelled with indignity: And whereas, under the authority of the French Government, there is yet pursued against the United States a system of predatory violence, infracting the said treaties, and hostile to the rights of a free and independent nation—

"*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That the United States are of right freed and exonerated from the stipulations of the treaties and of the Consular Convention heretofore concluded between the United States and France, and that the same shall not henceforth be regarded as legally obligatory on the Government or citizens of the United States."—*Stat. at Large, I, p.* 578.

The treaty-making power is vested not in Congress, but in the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. A valid treaty can be abrogated only by the power which is competent to make one. A treaty already void needs no act of Congress or of the President and Senate to abrogate it, while one not void cannot be abrogated except in the constitutional way.

A treaty, moreover, is the act of two parties. Neither can dissolve it without the concurrence of the other. The act of Congress, then, left the obligations of the ancient treaties, so far as France was concerned, and so far as the United States politically were concerned, just as it found them.

Seventhly. As a last resort, the opponents of these claims assert *that the release of the ancient treaties was valueless, because they had been abrogated by war between the two nations.*

I waive the objection that these treaties were of such a nature that they could not be abrogated by war, and I simply deny that any such war occurred.

If war did take place, it must have begun in some way and at some time, and have ended in some other way and at some other time.

It is quite certain that France never declared war against the United States, and equally so that the United States never declared war against France. There were hostilities between them, but hostilities are not always war. The statute book of the United States shows the nature and extent of these hostilities.

We were not at war with France on the 14th of January, 1797; for on that day Congress declared it a misdemeanor for an American to engage in privateering against nations with whom the United States were at peace, and we know that France was then regarded as in that relation, because the United States afterwards authorized privateering against her in certain cases.

We were not at war with France on the 28th of May, 1798; for on that day Congress directed that a provisional army should be raised in the event of a declaration of war against the United States, or of actual invasion of their territory by a foreign Power, or of imminent danger of such invasion.

Nor were we at war with France on the 13th of June, 1798; for on that day Congress suspended commercial relations with France—a measure quite unnecessary, if war had already broken up that intercourse.

Nor were we at war on the 25th of June, 1798; for on that day Congress authorized American vessels to oppose and resist searches, restraints, and seizures, by armed vessels of France. Such opposition and resistance would have needed no sanction if committed in open war.

We were not at war with France on the 2d day of March, 1799; for on that day Congress authorized the President to levy and organize additional regiments, in case *war should* break out between the United States and a foreign European Power.

We were not yet at war on the 20th of February, 1800, for on that day Congress directed that all further enlistments should be suspended, unless during the recess of Congress and during *the existing differences* (which existing differences the sequel will show were not war) between the United States and France, or imminent danger of invasion of the territory of the United States by that Republic, should, in the opinion of the President, be deemed to have arisen.

Finally, we were not at war on the 30th of September, 1800; for on that day the then "existing differences" between France and the United States were adjusted by a convention, concluded on the basis that although, in the opinion of the United States, the aggressions of France would "well have justified an immediate declaration of war, yet that they had nevertheless been desirous of maintaining peace, and of leaving open the door of reconciliation with France, and had therefore contented themselves with preparations for defence, and measures calculated to protect their commerce."—*Instructions to American Ministers at Paris, October* 22, 1799.

Thus, sir, it is shown, that if a war existed, neither its beginning, nor its end, nor the way of either, can ever be ascertained, and that the United States were profoundly ignorant of its existence. If any man in France, more than another, would have known the existence of such a war, that man was Napoleon Bonaparte. Yet we have seen that the music of this "soft and silken war" never reached the ear of the Great Captain of France. For, in speaking of the spoliations, he described them as having been committed "in time of peace." It was not thus with the other enemies of France, while he was at liberty within her borders, nor has it been so that the countrymen of Washington, of Taylor, and of Scott, have conducted their campaigns in other conflicts.

It appears from this review that the treaties in question had been recognised always by both parties, and broken in parts by both, but under circumstances of excuse and palliation; and that they were therefore in force when the United States and France mutually agreed to extinguish them, on the condition of a release of the claims for indemnities. Of the value of that agreement it is unnecessary to say more, than that without it the United States might have been held by the ancient treaty of alliance to have followed to some extent the varying fortunes of France through her wars during the Consulate and the Empire, until she found repose, from complete exhaustion, on the field of Waterloo.

No reason for rejecting these claims remains, except that they have not been paid heretofore. But mere lapse of time pays no debts, and discharges no obligations. There has been no release, no waiver, no neglect, no delay, by the creditors. They have been here twenty-five times in fifty years; that is to say, they have appeared in their successive generations, before every Congress since their claims against the United States accrued. Against such claims and such creditors there is no prescription.

It is said, indeed, that the nation is unable to pay these claims now. I put a single question in reply: When will the nation be more affluent than now?

The Senator, [Mr. HUNTER] says, again, that, if the debts are just, we should pay the whole, and not a moiety; if the claims are unjust, then the bill proposes a gratuity—that in the one case the appropriation is too small, and in the other too great. This is the plea of him who, I think it was in Ephesus, despoiled the statue of Jupiter of its golden robe, saying, Gold was too warm in summer, and too cold in winter, for the shoulders of the God.

Sir, Commerce is one of the great occupations of this nation. It is the fountain of its revenues, as it is the chief agent of its advancement in civilization and enlargement of Empire. It is exclusively the care of the Federal authorities. It is for the protection of Commerce that they pass laws, make treaties, build fortifications, and maintain navies upon all the seas. But justice and good faith are surer defences than treaties, fortifications, or naval armaments. Justice and good faith constitute true national honor, which feels a stain more keenly than a wound. The nation that lives in wealth and in the enjoyment of power, and yet under unpaid obligations, lives in dishonor and in danger. The nation that would be truly great, or even merely safe, must practice an austere and self-denying morality.

The faith of canonized ancestors, whose fame now belongs to mankind, is pledged to the payment of these debts. "Let the merchants send hither well-authenticated evidence of their claims, and proper measures shall be taken for their relief." This was the promise of Washington. The evidence is here. Let us redeem the sacred and venerable engagement. We have inherited with it ample and abundant resources, through his sagacity and virtue, and to them we ourselves have added the newly discovered wealth of Southern plains, and the hidden treasures of the Western coasts. With the opening of the half century, we are entering upon new and profitable intercourse with the ancient Oriental States and races, while we are grappling more closely to us the new States on our own Continent. Let us signalize an epoch so important in commerce and politics by justly discharging ourselves forever from the yet remaining obligations of the first and most sacred of our national engagements. While we are growing over all lands, let us be rigorously just to other nations, just to the several States, and just to every class and to every citizen; in short, just in all our administration, and just towards all mankind. So shall Prosperity crown all our enterprises—nor shall any disturbance within nor danger from abroad come nigh unto us, nor alarm us for the safety of Fireside, or Fane, or Capitol.

FROM THE FAR WEST.

ST. ANTHONY'S FALLS, *Dec.* 30, 1850.

To the Editor of the National Era:

Do not think from my long silence that I have forgotten to write you, or that in our home in the West we have lost all interest in the stirring events that are constantly transpiring in the East. The duties and cares of the past summer have been of too absorbing a nature to allow much time for either public or private correspondence, except that which forces itself upon us as a kind of necessity, and which we cannot, if we would, dispense with.

The prosperity of our Territory during the past summer has fully equalled our expectations. Our own village is now nearly three times as large as it was at the opening of navigation in the spring. Other towns have prospered well, though not in the same proportion. Farmers have settled around us in considerable numbers, and many thousand acres have been brought under cultivation during the past season. But there is room and encouragement for a hundred times the present number of farmers in this Territory. There is hardly any part of the Union where the inducements are so great.

During the summer, eight steamboats have been running from St. Louis and Galena to St. Paul, Fort Snelling, and this place, and also to Stillwater on the St. Croix, doing a very extensive business, and bringing a large number of passengers into the Territory. A large share of the freight brought up the river by these boats consists of provisions and grain, that might just as well be raised in the Territory. The press of business was so great near the close of navigation that the price of freight from Galena by steamboat rose to one dollar per hundred weight, which is four times the ordinary price. Thousands of bushels of oats were brought up the river, on which the freight amounted to more than the original price of the grain. So with corn and other articles. All these grains are just as easily raised here as in Illinois or Wisconsin, and they will be raised in abundance when the poor farmers of the East can be made to understand, that, with half the labor they now bestow upon their farms, they can here raise twice their present crops, and get for them more than double their present prices. And they need not fear that the demand will soon be supplied. There are in the Territory three large tribes of Indians that are supplied with provisions by the Government. There are also three forts to be supplied—besides the fur companies, with their immense dependencies, and a great multitude of lumbermen. These, together with merchants, mechanics, and others, that produce nothing from the soil—besides the large numbers that annually come to the Territory—must keep up the demand and prices of produce for many years to come.

Though we have enjoyed during the past summer a high degree of prosperity, the prospects of the coming year are far more flattering than were those of the past. We hear from all quarters of preparations for a much more extensive emigration. Arrangements are already made for building nine new mills at these Falls the coming summer, besides others not far from us. These, together with the expenditure of over sixty thousand dollars for public buildings and public roads in this vicinity, will doubtless do something for our prosperity. There is a prospect, too, that the Indian lands on the west side of the river will be purchased, and the military reservation around Fort Snelling, and opposite this place, will be brought into market early next spring.

We have in our village four schools—two churches already erected and enclosed, and preparations making to erect others early in the coming summer. Four clergymen are now residing with us, who are actively engaged in their work in this village and vicinity—viz: one Congregationalist, one Baptist, and two Methodist; and we have Episcopal service regularly by a minister from St. Paul. A course of popular lectures is now in progress before the Library Association of this town, which will compare favorably with those enjoyed in some Eastern cities, and yet all the lecturers are chosen from among our own citizens.

The Territorial Legislature assembles at St. Paul next Wednesday, the first day of January. There are many important questions to come before them, and the coming session promises to be one of much interest. The location of the Capitol and Penitentiary, and the expenditure of the public moneys are exciting considerable attention.

The Indians in some parts of the Territory are said to be dying for want of supplies from the Government. One hundred and seventy are said to have died among the Chippewas from starvation and from eating damaged provisions. The Government has recently been to visit them and afford them relief. They have learned to depend so much upon their annuities, that, when their supplies are delayed, they are reduced at once to starvation. The Fugitive Slave law is discussed and abhorred here as elsewhere. Our ministers denounce it from the pulpit in a spirit that is truly refreshing, and it is also being discussed in the public Lyceum. No law was ever more universally detested. Yours, J. W. N.

PUBLIC MEETINGS AT THE NORTH.

FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

[ABRIDGED.]

At a large and enthusiastic meeting of the citizens of Oswego, without distinction of party, held at the Market Hall on the evening of the 7th of October last.

Leander Babcock, Esq., mayor of the city, was called to the Chair, and Dr. D. S. Goldey, J. C. Wright, D. H. Marsh, and R. A. Stitt, were appointed Vice Presidents, and J. Thurman and D. C. Bancroft were appointed Secretaries.

The Chairman stated the object of the meeting, and read the principal sections of the bill.

On motion of B. Brockway, Esq., a committee of seven was appointed by the Chair to prepare resolutions to be submitted to the meeting.

The Chair appointed as such committee, Messrs. B. Brockway, Rev. I. Lawton, W. H. Wheeler, J. F. Temple, W. O. Hubbard, Dr. A. Van Dyke, Dr. J. Reynolds.

During the absence of the committee, D. H. Marsh, Esq., being called upon by the meeting, made a patriotic and stirring address, pointing out the principal odious features of the bill, and the duties of all *good* citizens in relation to its practical operation.

Mr. Brockway, from the committee on resolutions, reported a series of resolutions, among them the following:

4. *Resolved,* That as "the law presumes every man to be innocent until he is proven guilty," so should persons claimed as slaves be presumed to be freemen, until the contrary is established by an impartial jury trial, in which both parties shall be allowed a full and fair hearing. The claimant should show beyond all doubt that the person claimed *is his property*, and if he commits perjury, he should be punished therefor in the same manner as those who testify falsely in other cases.

5. *Resolved,* That while we have every disposition to adhere to and carry out the provisions of the Constitution, we can sanction no such atrocious measure as the Fugitive Slave Law, which tramples in the dust that sacred instrument, as well as the dearest rights of freemen: Therefore,

6. *Resolved,* That a committee of three be appointed by the Chair, to prepare, and cause to be circulated, a petition to be presented to our next Congress, signed by every freeman, praying for the immediate repeal of this infamous law.

Addresses were made, and a committee was appointed to obtain signatures to petitions for a repeal of the law.

CHURCH ACTION.

Stated Session of the Presbytery of Delaware, Colchester, January 8, 1851.

To the Editor of the National Era:

DEAR SIR: The Presbytery of Delaware feel called upon to express their sympathy with the enslaved, in obedience to the command of the apostle, that we remember those that are in bonds as bound with them; and also briefly to set forth our views in regard to the nature and claims to our obedience of a law recently passed by our Congress, known as the Fugitive Slave Law. Therefore,

1. *Resolved,* That we look upon American slavery as in a high degree oppressive and sinful; that it receives no support, either from analogy, from any Jewish institution, or by precept from any Biblical law; but that, by the principles of the Bible, and the laws of nature, it is clearly and expressly condemned.

2. *Resolved,* That it is not in the power of any civil enactments to make that right which a higher law has declared wrong. Therefore, as man's right to liberty is not conventional, civil legislation has no right or power to make man a slave.

3. *Resolved,* That while we recommend resistance to no civil laws, but obedience to all such as can be obeyed without involving us in the breach of a higher law, still we can conceive of such a conflict, between the civil law and the Divine, as that the one cannot be obeyed without the breach of the other. In such cases, the rule of Peter is to be ours: "We ought to obey God rather than men."

4. *Resolved,* That while we admit the possibility of its being right for a slave to submit to his hard fate, in accordance with the command, "Resist not evil," and while we may allow him, under certain circumstances, thus to suffer wrong, still, when we are forced, by a law of our county, out of this attitude of submission to evil, and required, by pains and penalties, to use our positive agency in assisting to reduce our fellow men to bondage, we must respectfully decline obedience.

By order of the Presbytery:

ISAAC D. CORNWELL, *Stated Clerk.*

REFORMED PRESBYTERIAN.

On January 1, 1850, a meeting of the congregation and others friendly to human rights was held in the Reformed Presbyterian meeting house, Elkhorn, Washington Co., Ill., to testify against the late act of Congress, commonly called the Fugitive Slave Act.

The meeting was organized with prayer by Rev. James Milligan. Mr. Milligan was chosen Chairman, and Mr. James Stale, Secretary.

Addresses were delivered by Rev. Messrs. Milligan and Sloane. After the addresses, the following resolutions were *unanimously* adopted:

1. *Resolved,* That Reformed Presbyterians, having always testified against the evils of the American Constitution, are not implicated in the guilt of any act made to carry out its provisions.

2. *Resolved,* That they do not endorse the sentiments of Nullifiers. They hold that, when it is a question of dollars and cents, the act of Congress is binding on every citizen; but when it is a question of moral right or wrong, they judge it better to obey God than man.

3. *Resolved,* That we therefore refuse subjection to the late act of Congress, called the Fugitive Slave act.

4. *Resolved,* That any man who shall accept the office of Marshal, or Commissioner, or act in the *posse comitatus* to carry out that oppressive act, will be obnoxious to the execration of the present age, and the reprobation of posterity.

5. *Resolved,* That the inhabitants of Boston have acted an exemplary part in baffling the pursuers of some poor fugitives; and that it would be well to appoint vigilance committees everywhere, to throw obstacles in the way of those bloodhounds that are baying on the track of the poor fugitive from oppression.

6. *Resolved,* That terrible as this law is, we have reason to rejoice, that the Most High is exciting a reaction, which, we hope, will result not only in the repeal of this act, but in a reform of the whole genius of our Government, and issue finally in the establishment of Bible views of Christian liberty.

After the adoption of the above resolutions, Messrs. Milligan, Sloane, and McClurken, were appointed a committee to revise them, and send them to the *National Era* for publication.

A collection was taken up for the relief of fugitives from oppression. The meeting then adjourned.

WM. SLOANE, *Sec. of Committee of Revision.*

WESTERN SUSQUEHANNA, PENN.

At a meeting of the citizens of Western Susquehanna, Pennsylvania, convened at the Presbyterian Academy, in the borough of Friendsville, on the evening of the 16th of January, 1851, Edward Cransie, Esq., in the Chair—

The following question, having been four weeks previously agreed upon for discussion, was discussed.

Question: Is the Fugitive law, passed by Congress, 1850, a constitutional law?

Affirmative.—Hon. C. Leet, a late judge of the court.

Negative.—B. Gliddon, Esq.

After a discussion of four hours, the following was the decision, with only two dissenting votes:

Resolved, That, in the opinion of this meeting, the Fugitive law, passed by Congress, 1850, is an unconstitutional law, and, as good and law-abiding citizens, we will use all lawful means for its amendment or repeal.

GREEN COUNTY, OHIO.

[ABRIDGED]

A large number of the religious community in the neighborhood of the Associate congregation of Massie's Creek, upon the invitation of the member of said congregation, met on Saturday, December 7th, for the purpose of considering and expressing their sentiments on the late act of Congress, commonly called the "Fugitive Slave law."

George Tounsly, Esq., was called to the Chair, and David Jackson was elected Secretary.

Rev. James P. Smart, being called upon, opened the meeting with prayer.

On motion, a committee of five was appointed to bring in resolutions expressive of the sense of this meeting—Rev. J. P. Smart, Robert Hystop, J. F. Frozier, David Jackson, Jonathan Douthett, Committee.

The committee withdrew, and, during their absence, the Fugitive Slave law was read and discussed.

After a short absence, the committee returned, and through their Chairman, reported the following preamble and resolutions, which were considered separately and unanimously adopted, except the 4th, against which there was one dissent recorded.

Whereas we, as Christians and citizens of this nation, having long enjoyed the blessings of peace and liberty under the protection of the United States Government, must ever find it a painful thing to be finding fault with said Government, and still more to be under the necessity of declaring our inability to submit to any of its requirements; but, as we consider the perpetuity of our Government and the continuance of our privileges are necessarily dependent upon the virtue of our citizens and the establishment of our laws upon the law of God, it becomes a high Christian duty for us to warn our rulers whenever we find them deviating from that law, and obviously departing in their legislative enactments from the great foundation principles of Justice and Equity: actuated by such principles, we do hereby declare our views of the late law of Congress, called the Fugitive Slave law, in the adoption of the following resolutions, viz:

1. *Resolved,* That there is a God who rules over men, and *His law is supreme,* and that human enactments which conflict with this *higher law* are null and void.

2. *Resolved,* That the late law of Congress for the reclamation of fugitive slaves is in direct conflict with the law of God—Deut. 23d and 15th, "Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant who is escaped unto thee;" therefore we are bound to obey the latter and repudiate the former.

2. *Resolved,* That said act is contrary to the strongest and purest promptings of human nature, and intended to drown them—for, if there be an object of sympathy and pure compassion on God's footstool, it is a *fugitive slave.*

4. *Resolved,* That said act is also in direct violation of the Constitution of the United States, ("whereas it was ordained to establish justice and preserve liberty,") in refusing a jury trial, in suspending the writ of *habeas corpus*, in striking down a man's liberty without power of law, and in legalizing the greatest tyranny.

6. *Resolved,* That the Constitution of the United States does not require us to become slave-catchers for the South, and we will not, neither do we think any Christian or honorable man will.

10. *Resolved,* That the proceedings of this meeting be signed by the Chairman and Secretary, and published in the Torchlight, Ohio State Journal, and National Era, and all other papers in the country be requested to copy.

GEORGE TOUNSLY, *Chairman.*
DAVID JACKSON, *Secretary.*

WEST ALEXANDER, PENN.

[ABRIDGED.]

WEST ALEXANDER WASHINGTON CO., PA., *November* 25, 1850.

Pursuant to previous notice given, the citizens of West Alexander and its vicinity met at that place for the purpose, principally, of taking into consideration the Fugitive Slave Bill passed by Congress at its last session, and to declare their judgment and disposition in relation to that measure. The meeting was opened with prayer by Rev. J. Y. Ashenhust, and, on motion, Joshua Stoolfire was chosen President, and Alexander McCoy, Secretary.

On motion, a committee was appointed to prepare business for the meeting, and J. S. Buchanan, J. McCoy, S. M. Scott, J. Y. Ashenhust, and W. Neil, were that committee.

The committee having retired, some addresses were delivered during their absence.

The committee having returned, after some recess, presented the following report, which, upon deliberate consideration, with appropriate remarks, was unanimously adopted.

1. *Resolved,* That we view with extreme jealousy and alarming apprehension such insolent and overbearing aggressions of Southern slaveholders on the just rights and liberties of Northern freemen, constituting, as such despots do, but a miserable minority of our population.

2. *Resolved, also,* That we highly disapprove of the passive yielding and subservient conduct of the representatives of the free States in Congress, who allowed themselves to be so extensively swayed by a few demagogues and their subordinates, as to vote ultimately with them in the establishment of such partial and unrighteous measures, at the expense of the counter-claims, and to the degradation of their very numerous constituents; neither are we to be considered as excusing those who had shown themselves so far recreant as to dodge these questions, lest they should give offence to either party.

3. *Resolved, especially,* That we view, not only with disapprobation, but also with extreme abhorrence, the late Fugitive Slave enactment, as revolting to humanity, whose claims are utterly disregarded—diametrically opposed to the law of God, who will not allow his authority to be trampled upon with impunity—repugnant to many fundamental principles of the Constitution, having a bearing upon the interests and rights of far more of our citizens than the few tyrants whose claims had extorted that enactment—rapacious, in the precipitate manner in which such persons are ordered to be arrested and remanded to the most miserable of conditions—corrupting to the new official functionaries created in virtue of it, in allowing an additional remuneration in case a judicial decision be given in favor of the captor as the only party present, and allowing a liberal compensation to arresting officers for every individual of that description, or otherwise, forced into their custody—barbarous in its penalties, some of which are ordered to be appropriated to the use of the slaveholder, thereby showing the oppressiveness of slave labor, and the wretchedness of their food and clothing, when slave-workers can afford to give a thousand dollars for each of them, according to the language of that enactment—insulting to the free and sovereign people of the non-slaveholding States, in whose midst such an army of slave-catchers and their retainers are appointed, to the disturbance of the peace of society—and persecuting for righteousness sake in arrogantly commanding all good citizens, standing by, to assist as a *posse comitatus*, and do what God and conscience imperatively forbid, or they may expect to undergo penalties similar to those expressed in that act, should they refuse to lend themselves as accessaries to such rapacity.

4. *Resolved, also,* That, whatever be the respect which we owe to that law, for the authority whereby it may be said to be sanctioned, we are compelled to pronounce it immoral in all its bearings, and grossly inconsistent with the spirit of the age in which we live, and therefore we cannot conscientiously obey it, nor take any part in carrying it into execution, as no human authority can warrantably interpose its claims between us and our Maker.

5. *Resolved, also,* That we consider it morally and politically incumbent on us to use all lawful and constitutional means within the reach of our influence to procure a repeal of that abominable enactment as soon as possible.

6. *Resolved, also,* That we will address a petition, with as many signatures as we can procure, to our Congress, at its next meeting, praying that body to review, speedily as possible, that enactment, and order its removal from our national statute-book, because general equity and the peace and prosperity of our Republic indispensably require such a measure.

7. *Resolved, also,* That, as Pennsylvanians, we will petition our own State Legislature, at the ensuing session, praying them to instruct our Senators and request our Representatives in Congress to use their best influence and vote for the repeal of that unrighteous and degrading enactment, as consistent with our interest in particular, and that of the whole nation in general.

8. *Resolved, also,* That from the developments thus made of the character of Southern slaveholders, and their violent disposition to encroach as far as possible on the rights of Northern freemen, in order to reduce them to a level with their own chattel servants, we think it ought to be considered necessary to demand a promise of opposition to all such aggressions from all our candidates for all important and prominent offices, both under our National and State Governments, whatever regard may be considered due to other party distinctions.

9. *Resolved, also,* That, from the view which is taken of that oppressive measure by our community in general, we are not prepared to believe that any man can be found in this district who could give the bonds and security requisite, so reckless of public sentiment, so lost to all sense of justice and propriety, to say nothing of self-respect, as to accept of the office of Commissioner, for the purpose of ordering freemen into bondage in virtue of that Southern enactment.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be published, and that the editors of the Tribune, National Era, Washington Reporter, Examiner, and Commonwealth, and Wheeling Gazette and Argus, be respectively requested to give them an insertion in their columns, and that all other papers friendly to the cause be requested to copy.

Resolved, that this meeting adjourn.

JOSHUA STOOLFIRE, *President.*
ALEXANDER MCCOY, *Secretary.*

The publication of the following letter from Hon. R. R. Reed, member of Congress from this district, was also ordered by the forementioned meeting:

MAPLE BROW, *November* 20, 1850.

SIR: Your letter, dated the 6th of November, post-marked the 20th, has been received.

I should be glad to comply with your polite invitation to "address you in regard to the late Fugitive Slave bill, on Monday, the 25th instant," did the arrangements necessary for my early departure to the seat of Government allow.

Under these circumstances, I can only assure you and the meeting of my ready coöperation with my fellow-citizens in all proper efforts for the repeal of this ill-considered and stringent law.

It is perhaps but proper to say, that whilst I shall cordially second all just efforts to modify or repeal the Fugitive Slave Bill, I cannot yield assent to those measures which look to a forcible resistance of that law.

Very respectfully, yours, R. R. REED.

Mr. S. M. Bell.

OREGON LETTER.

OREGON CITY, OREGON TERRITORY, *October* 9, 1850.

MR. EDITOR—DEAR SIR: I arrived in the Columbia river the second day of last March. I am now travelling the Yam Hill circuit, and am a member of the Oregon and California Mission Conference. I have been up and down the Columbia river, the Willamette river, and have crossed and recrossed several others which empty into the Willamette and the Columbia rivers; I have also been through the principal valleys, over the hills and mountains, therefore I have some correct knowledge of the country. And what I now state will be strictly true. First, this is a much, very much, better country than California. I think Oregon to be the most beautiful country in the world, at least so far as I have seen, and I have seen much of Europe and America, yet these valleys and plains, hills and dales of the Willamette valley surpass in picturesque beauty, and Eden-like places for residence, anything I have ever seen. The soil is very rich and easy of cultivation. Springs of pure water abound everywhere, and many beautiful little streams run through the rich valleys. Indeed, sir, this is a most desirable country to live in. Here a family can live with comfort, health, and comparative ease. I consider it the best, yes, the very best wheat country on the globe. Two and sometimes THREE crops of wheat have been raised from ONE sowing; the two last crops are called volunteer crops, and yield from thirty to fifty bushels per acre. I saw this season the second crop of oats cut from the first sowing, and it was a middling good crop. Potatoes grow to great perfection (Irish.) Beets, onions, turnips, and almost every other vegetable, does well. The climate is truly fine, and I believe the best on the Continent; true, the summers are dry, but they are pleasant, for the nights are cool and pleasant. The winters are mild, but wet; we have what is called the rainy season; it is generally about this time, but more fully next month, and continues till March; but during this time, say from November to March, the weather is mild; sometimes a little snow falls, say 1 or 2 inches deep perhaps some winters much more; yet, upon the whole, our winters are pleasant and healthy. You know, I suppose, the Government is expected to grant a section of land to a man and his wife, and half that quantity to one man or woman. There are thousands of good claims in this valley unoccupied; and in other valleys there are good claims to be obtained. Therefore the sooner you get here the better, as the best claims (or most of them) will be taken up in twelve months from this time. Upon the whole, I can freely invite you to this country, as a rich, lovely, and healthy country. If you or any of your friends conclude to come on, do so forthwith; and if you come by land, start soon, and procure good teams, and good light wagons, but don't load too heavy; fifteen or or eighteen hundred pounds is enough to a wagon. The tire should be two inches wide, three quarters of an inch thick, and put on as tight as possible—let the tires be fastened on with small screw bolts through the tires and centre of the felloes; lock chains to both hind wheels; and if you have ox teams, take care to have good yokes, seven inches wide on the neck, and rounded to about the form of the ball of the thumb. But if you come by the Isthmus of Panama, you will arrive at San Francisco, and from thence to Oregon in the steamer, which runs twice a month between San Francisco and Portland, on the Willamette river, twelve or fourteen miles below the city; the price of a cabin passage is $100, steerage passage $60, from San San Francisco to Portland.

Yours, respectfully, ISAAC MCELROY.

HOOKER & HAWLEY,

ATTORNEYS and Counsellors at Law, Hartford, Connecticut. JOHN HOOKER.
Sept. 12—1y JOSEPH R. HAWLEY.

LIGHT'S LITERARY AGENCY,
No. 3 *Cornhill, Boston.*

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June 6. G. W. LIGHT & CO.

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WILL take acknowledgments, depositions, affidavits, and protestations, in town or country; is agent for the *National Era,* the *Union Mutual Life Insurance Company,* the *American Live Stock Insurance Company;* and will attend to the collection of claims generally; also, to selling, leasing, and renting real estate.

☞ Office—Galloway's Buildings, up stairs—corner room.
Sept. 19—1y

JOHN W. NORTH,

ATTORNEY and Counsellor at Law, and General Land Agent, Falls of St. Anthony, Minnesota Territory.
Oct. 11.—y

LARD FOR OIL.

LARD WANTED.—Cash paid for corn, mast, and slop-fed Lard. Apply to
THOMAS EMERY, Lard Oil Manufacturer,
Jan. 20. 33 Water street, near Walnut, Cincinnati, O.

NEWSPAPER AGENCIES.

V. B. PALMER, the American Newspaper Agent, is agent for the *National Era,* and authorized to take Advertisements and subscriptions at the same rates as required by us. His offices are at Boston, 8 Congress street; New York, Tribune Building; Philadelphia, northwest corner of Third and Chestnut streets; Baltimore, southwest corner of North and Fayette streets.

☞ S. M. PETTENGILL, Newspaper Advertising, Subscription, and Collecting Agent, No. 10 State street, Boston, (Journal Building,) is also agent for the *National Era.*

LAW OFFICE, COLUMBUS, O.

WILLIAM B. JARVIS, Jun., *Attorney and Counsellor at Law,* Columbus, Ohio. Office in Platt's new building, State street, opposite south door of State House.
Business connected with the profession, of all kinds, punctually attended to. Jan. 28

POWERS & SEATON,

ATTORNEYS and *Counsellors at Law,* and *Solicitors in Chancery,* Youngstown, Mahoning county, Ohio.
R. J. POWERS.
Sept. 26. G. W. SEATON.

FANCY SILK GOODS, DRESS TRIMMINGS, &c.

J. K. McILWAIN & SON, *Philadelphia,* No. 3 *Bank street,* importers and dealers in Fringes, Gimps, and Buttons, Hosiery, Gloves, Ribbons, Purse Twist, Combs, Steel Beads, Spool Cotton, Tapes, Needles, Pins, Bobbins, &c. &c. &c. Jan. 2.

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Models can be safely sent to us by the Expresses.
Rough sketches and descriptions can be sent by mail.
Letters must be post paid.
Office on F street, opposite the Patent Office.
P. H. WATSON.
July 18. E. S. RENWICK.

PARKEVILLE HYDROPATHIC INSTITUTE.

AT a meeting of the Board of Managers of the Parkeville Hydropathic Institute, held Fifth month 15th, 1850, Joseph A. Weder, M. D., was unanimously elected *Resident Physician,* in the place of Dr. Dexter, resigned.

Having made various improvements, this Institute is now prepared to receive an additional number of patients; and from Dr. Weder's well-known skill and *practical experience* in Europe, (acquired under Vincens Preissnitz, the founder of the Hydropathic system,) and for several years past *in this country,* and particularly in the city of Philadelphia, (where he has had many patients,) the Managers believe the afflicted will find him an able and an attentive physician.

The domestic department being under the charge of a Steward and Matron, will enable the Doctor to devote to the patients whatever time may be necessary.

Application for admission to be made to
SAMUEL WEBB, *Secretary.*
Office No. 58 South Fourth street, residence No. 16 Logan square, Philadelphia.

General Description of the Parkeville Hydropathic Institute.

The main building is three stories high, standing back from the street about one hundred feet, with a semicircular grass plot in front, and contains thirty to forty rooms. The grounds around the house are tastefully laid out with walks and planted with trees, shrubs, &c. On the left of the entrance to these grounds is a cottage containing four rooms, used by male patients as a bathing house, with every convenience for "packing," bathing, &c.; on the right of the entrance, about two hundred feet distant, stands a similar cottage, used by the ladies for similar purposes.

In the rear of the Institute, at the distance of one hundred feet, are three other cottages, some eighty feet apart. One of these is the laundry, with a hydrant at the door; the other two are occupied by the servants.

The hydrant water is introduced into these cottages as well as into the main building, and all the waste water carried off by drains under ground.

THE WATER WORKS

Consist of a circular stone building, standing on the brow of a hill, surmounted by a large cedar reservoir, containing five hundred barrels, brought from a never-failing spring of pure cold water in the side of the hill, by "a hydraulic ram," a self-acting machine of cast iron, that is kept constantly going, night and day, by the descent of the water from the spring. The surplus water is carried from the reservoir to a fountain in the water-works yard surrounded by weeping willows. In the first story of the water works is a circular room, containing the douche bath, which is a stream falling from a height of about thirty feet, and can be varied in size from half an inch to an inch and a half in diameter. Adjoining the douche room is a dressing room, with marble tables, &c.; the *rising douche* (for the cure of piles, &c.) is one of the most complete contrivances of the kind, being entirely under the control of the patient using the same.

There are many other appliances, which can be better understood by a personal examination. May 30.

BOSTON "NATIONAL ERA" AGENCY,
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Now is the time to secure this national advocate of the Liberty Movement, during the first session of Congress under the new Administration, when questions of the most thrilling importance must be decided.

Subscriptions and renewals respectfully solicited by
Nov. 25. GEO. W. LIGHT, 3 Cornhill.

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WHOLESALE *and Retail Boot and Shoe Manufacturers,* sign of the *BIG RED BOOT,* No. 39 Lower Market, south side, two doors west of Sycamore street, Cincinnati—Dealers in *Boots, Shoes, Palm Leaf Hats, &c.*
J. P. WHELAN.
May 23—1y A. WOOD.

BOARDING.

MRS. EMILY H. STOCKTON, No. 161 Chestnut street between Fourth and Fifth streets, Philadelphia.
Oct. 25—tf

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IMPROVED LARD OIL.—Lard Oil of the finest quality equal to sperm for combustion, also for machinery and woollens, being manufactured without acids, can always be purchased and shipped in strong barrels, prepared expressly to prevent leakage. Orders received and executed for the Lake, Atlantic, and Southern cities, also for the West Indies and Canadas. Apply to
THOMAS EMERY, Lard Oil Manufacturer,
Jan. 20. 33 Water street, near Walnut, Cincinnati, O.

LIBERTY ALMANAC FOR 1851.

THE *American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* have just published another stereotyped Almanac, for the coming year, with special reference to the great question of Slavery at the present time, and in the expectation that the friends of the cause throughout the country will co-operate in diffusing extensively the valuable statistical and reading matter it contains. Considering the expense at which the Almanac has been prepared, the low price at which it is sold, and the increased facilities for forwarding it, by express or otherwise, from New York, over the whole of the Northern States, it is confidently expected that the circulation this year will greatly exceed that of any previous year. So much useful matter cannot well be circulated at less expense.

The Almanac is handsomely printed, on finer paper than usual, with well-executed wood engravings, prepared expressly for it, illustrating the escape of Henry Box Brown, a scene at Washington, and the kneeling Slave Mother. Besides the *Calendar,* which is equal in all respects to that of the American Tract Society's Almanac for 1851, and the Eclipses, Cycles, &c., &c., the Almanac contains a variety of interesting and valuable reading and statistical articles of an anti-slavery character, selected and original. The prices will be as follows:

For one thousand copies - - - - -	$20 00
For one hundred copies - - - - -	2 50
For one dozen copies - - - - -	40
For a single copy - - - - -	05

The friends of the cause are earnestly invited to co-operate in giving a wide circulation to the Almanac, and to send their orders at an early day for a liberal supply. It is suggested that they make arrangements with merchants in their neighborhood, before visiting New York, to have a few hundred Almanacs packed with their goods. In this way the cost of transportation will be very small. If no such opportunity offers, the owners of expresses are now more reasonable in their charges than heretofore. This mode of conveyance is better than the post office, as *every Almanac* sent by mail, whatever the distance, costs two and a half cents.

A Catalogue of most of the Publications for sale at the Depository is annexed, from which selections can be made; and books and pamphlets can be sent with the Almanacs, without much, if any, additional expense.

Orders, *enclosing payment,* in bank notes or post office stamps, may be addressed to
WILLIAM HARNED, *Agent,*
Aug. 8—6t No. 61 John street, New York City.

N. B. Editors friendly to the cause of freedom are respectfully requested to give the above an insertion, as the object in publishing the Almanac is not to make money, but to diffuse useful information.

SANDS' SARSAPARILLA,
IN QUART BOTTLES.

For the Removal and Permanent Cure of all Diseases arising from an Impure State of the Blood, or Habit of the System.

AMONG the many and important discoveries of this generation, is one whose fame will be written, as with a sunbeam, in the history of the past. *SANDS' SARSAPARILLA* stands forth alone, and by its own works proclaims its power—that mute eloquence, so irresistibly affecting in the appeals of the suffering for relief, has been answered. Thousands of cases of disease have been cured by this invaluable medicine, such as are not furnished in the records of time. These things are not done in secret places, or in some unknown town, but are performed in our principal cities and public places. They are brought before the world to substantiate beyond doubt the *healing virtues* of this preparation; and the facts unfolded, although gigantic, are as plain as the light of day.

The Sarsaparilla is combined with the most effectual aids, the most salutary productions, the most potent simples of the vegetable kingdom; and its unprecedented success in the restoration to health of those who had long pined under the most distressing chronic maladies, has given it an exalted character—furnishing, as it does, evidence of its own intrinsic value, and recommending it to the afflicted in terms the afflicted only can know. It has long been a most important desideratum in the practice of medicine, to obtain a remedy similar to this—one that would act on the *liver, stomach,* and *bowels,* with all the precision and potency of mineral preparations, yet without any of their deleterious effects upon the vital powers of the system. Although possessed of powerful healing properties, it is entirely harmless, and will not injure the most delicate constitution. When in perfect health, no effect is produced by its use, except an increase of appetite; but when disease is seated in the frame and carrying fast its victim along the path of life, then its mysterious influence is felt and seen; it enkindles new life and vigor, and brings health and strength to the suffering and diseased.

SCROFULOUS AFFECTION OF THE EYES.

WINCHESTER, KY., *October* 29, 1849.

A. B. & D. Sands—Gentlemen: I would not have presumed to write to you, if it was not my duty to let the public know the almost miraculous effect your Sarsaparilla has had upon me. My limbs were covered with ulcerous sores, so that I could not walk during the whole spring and summer. In this situation I commenced the use of your Sarsaparilla, and after taking two bottles was entirely cured. I must also tell you of another wonderful cure. My brother was afflicted with this scrofula in his head, so bad his physician told him the loss of his sight was inevitable, and permanent blindness seemed to be his fate. Three bottles entirely restored his sight, and we cannot but recommend all similarly afflicted to use Sands' Sarsaparilla.

Yours, truly, BENJAMIN F. BUCKNER.

ITS POPULARITY ABROAD.

FROM SOUTH AMERICA.

MARACAIBO, VENEZUELA, *April* 12, 1849.

Messrs. Sands—Gentlemen: I consider it a duty due the public to make known the great benefit I have received from using your valuable Sarsaparilla. About three years since I was attacked with rheumatism in my shoulders, and also in my legs, and so severe was the pain, that I was unable to sleep. I tried all of the best medicines I could hear of, without receiving any benefit, until through the advice of a friend I procured some of your Sarsaparilla, and after using four bottles in the course of fifteen days, I found myself entirely well. I have no hesitation in saying your Sarsaparilla is the best medicine I ever took, and can confidently recommend it to my friends and the public.

Your obedient servant, J. M. JESURUN.

Here is another, nearer home:

NEW YORK, *January* 8, 1850.

Messrs. Sands—Gentlemen: I have great pleasure in acknowledging to you the great benefit I have received from the use of your Sarsaparilla. A subject of pulmonary disease, I made a voyage to Europe, but while there continued to be afflicted. A few weeks after my return I was seized with a violent hemorrhage of the lungs, and from the debility and great prostration of strength that followed, with the protracted difficulty of respiration, I am entirely relieved by the use of your Sarsaparilla, which I consider a most important and truly valuable discovery in the healing art. I feel that I have not for fourteen years enjoyed so good health as at present. Very gratefully yours,

S. E. SEYMORE.

Prepared and sold wholesale and retail by *A. B. & D. SANDS,* Druggists and Chemists, 100 Fulton street, corner of William, New York. Sold also by Druggists generally throughout the United States and Canadas.

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For sale by *R. S. PATTERSON* and *CHS. STOTT & CO.,* Washington; by *ROBERT SHOEMAKER,* Philadelphia; by *COLBY & CO.,* Baltimore; and by *SETH W. FOWLE,* Boston. Jan. 9—eo3m